Saturday Review

January 9, 1965 25¢

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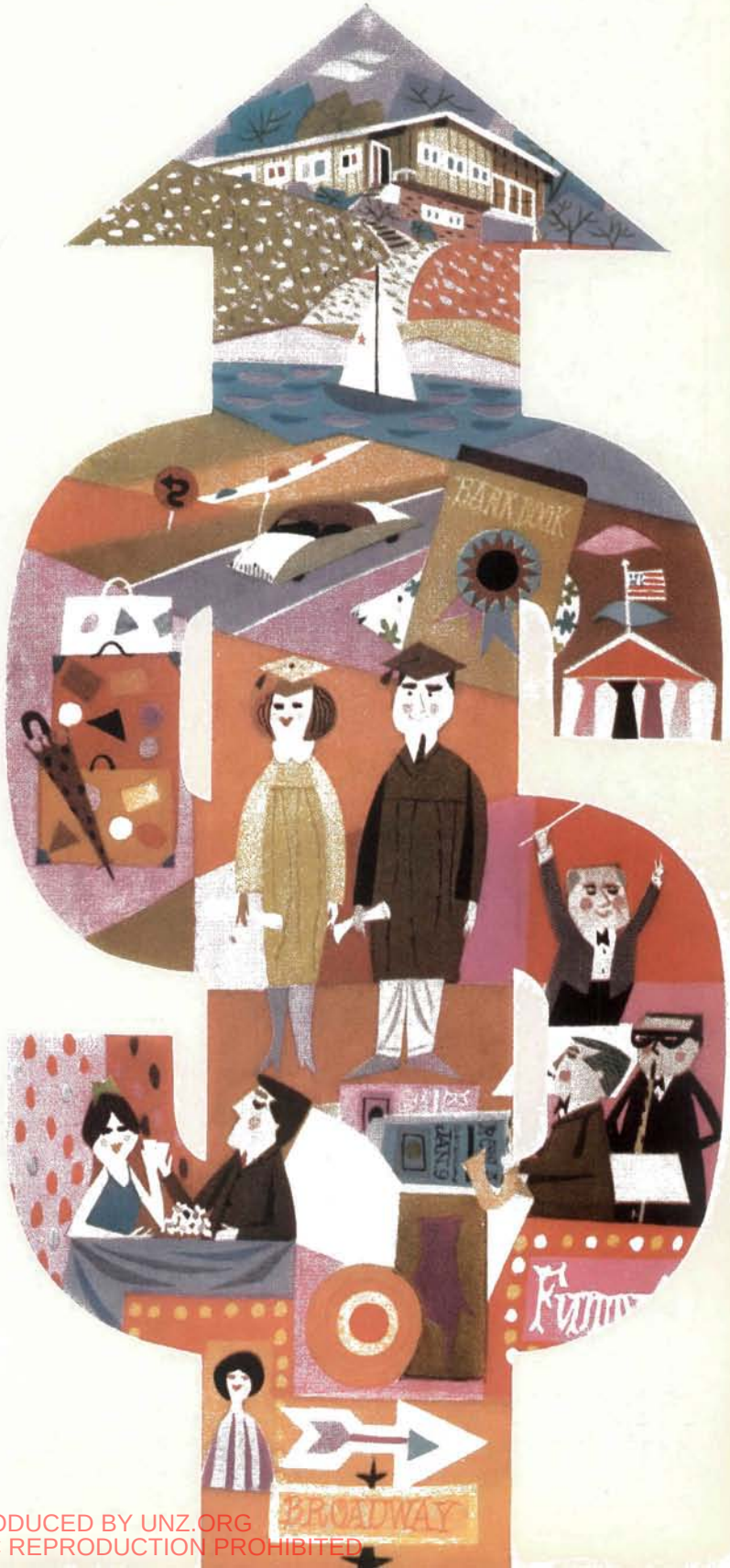
Exclusive report and analysis presented with the Committee for Economic Development



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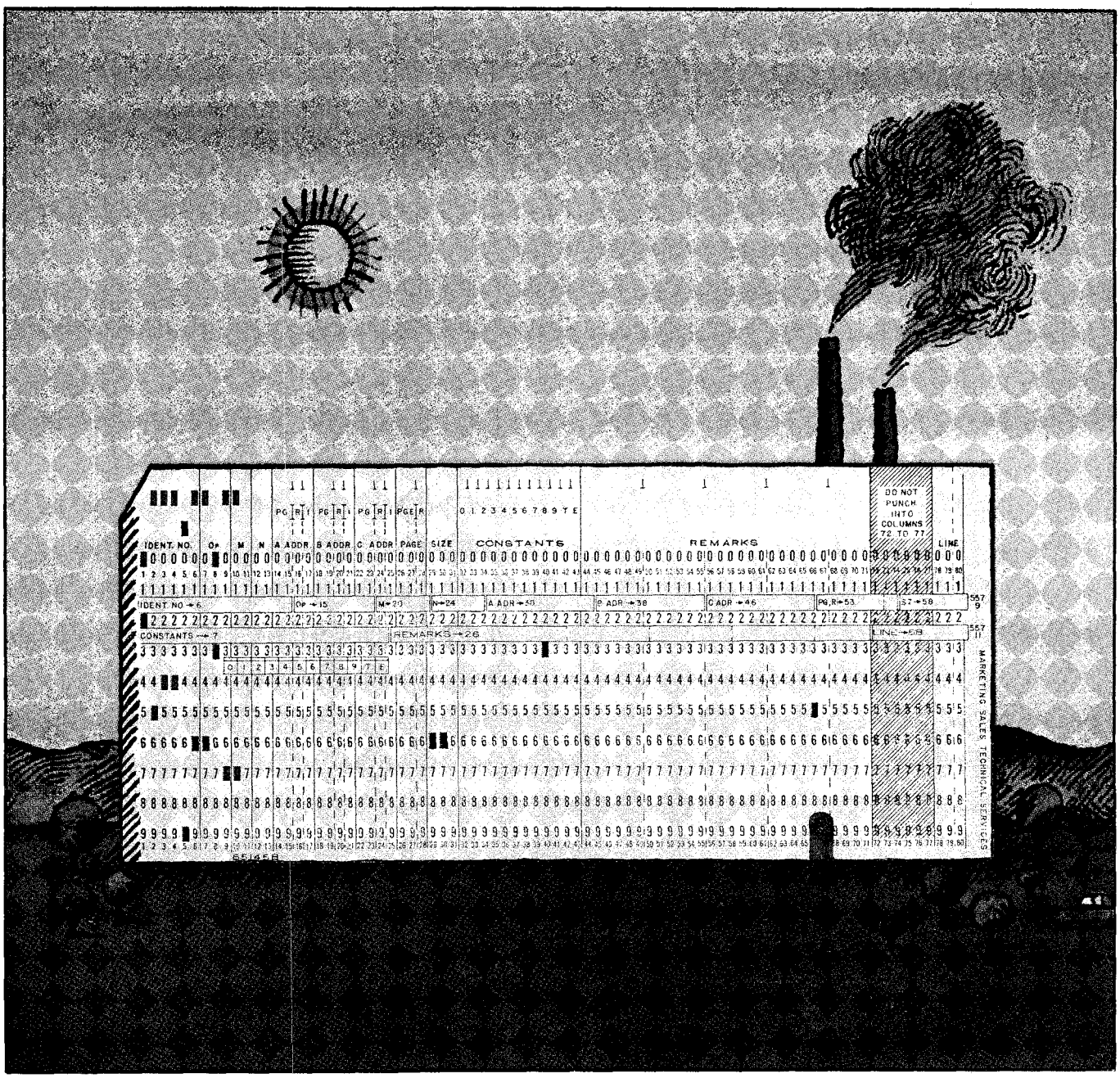

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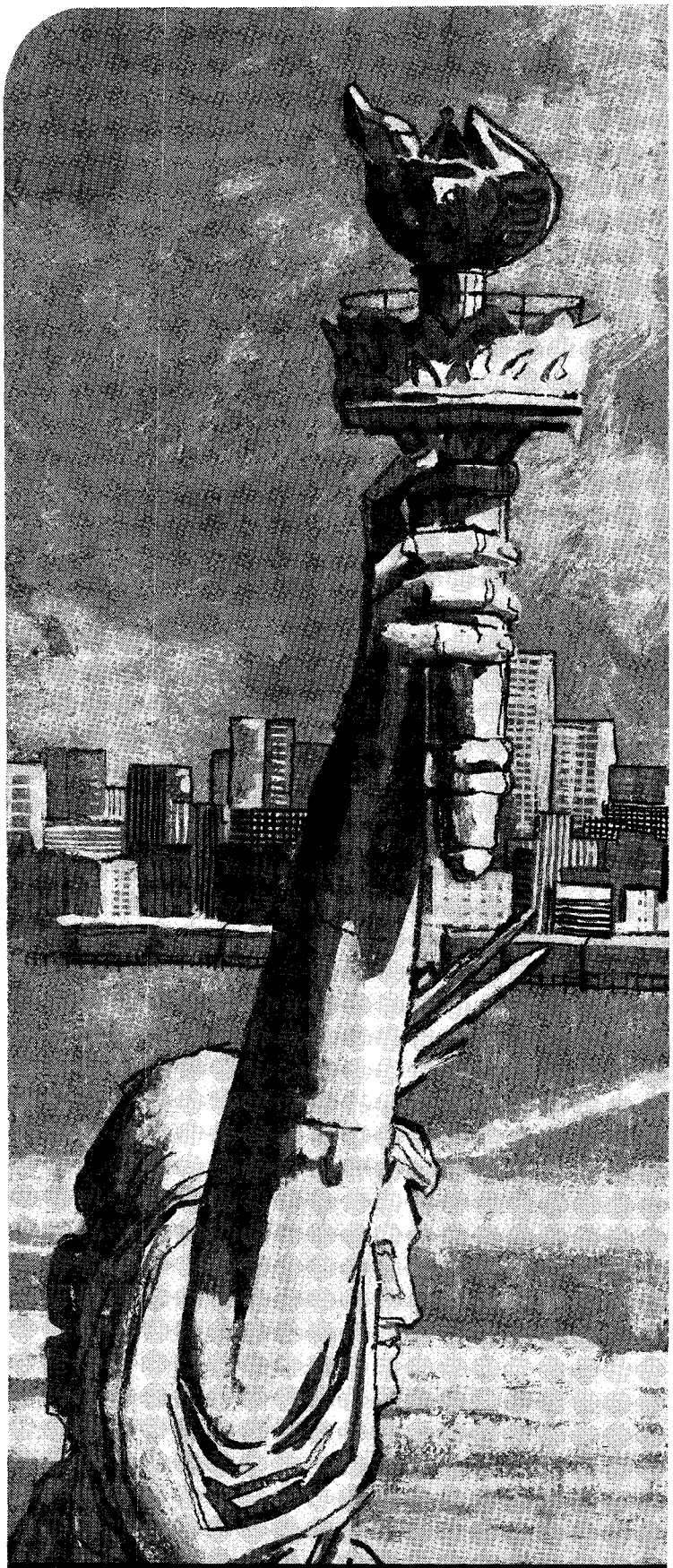

As Houston Post staff members walk into the building each day they see engraved on the facade eight words from the American Declaration of Independence: "Let Facts Be Submitted to a Candid World." Each day on the masthead of The Post they see these seven other words, "Written and Edited To Merit Your Confidence."

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Most histories of the United States have been curiously malformed. Readers in a later age might well suppose that the North American continent was discovered, settled, and shaped by White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants only.

The WASPS, as they are called, did have a hand in it, all right. But so too did minority groups such as the Mexican-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others. The slighting or total omission of their presence and contributions in many otherwise reputable works of history is a fault that has been revealed by the shock waves of the decade.

This year, Doubleday, which is launching several monumental projects (the Anchor Bible, for example), is bringing out a series called "Zenith Books," prepared after more than three years of research. These will be short narrative biographies or histories of people and periods who have helped to define the history of their time—and ours. The general editors are the distinguished historian and educator, John Hope Franklin, and Mrs. Shelley Umans, a specialist in reading instruction.

The first two titles deal, properly, with origins important to an understanding of the American Negro: *A Glorious Age in Africa*, Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner's history of the tribes and personalities which flourished in West Africa during the Middle Ages; and *Worth Fighting For*, a history of the Negro in the United States during the Civil War and Reconstruction by Lawrence Reddick and Agnes McCarthy.

Vigilantes have sprung up to keep rabbits in children's books pure, white, and puffy. Now there is an editorial group determined to right the balance of American history. To the first hundred readers who write me specifying whether they will give a copy to a friend, a school, a library, or keep it for themselves, I will send a free Zenith book.

L. L. Day

EDITOR-AT-LARGE

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Saturday Review

January 9, 1965

Cover Design by Pageant Studio

SR: Ideas

23 The Challenge of Prosperity: A special section

39 *SR*'s Businessman of the Year

42 The Prosperity Gap: A guest editorial by Sol M. Linowitz

SR: Communications

67 FM: Radio's Problem Child, by John Tebbel

69 Should Every Writer Have an Agent? by Paul R. Reynolds

SR: Books

47 Literary Horizons, by Granville Hicks

47 Index of books reviewed

SR: Departments

6 First of the Month, by Cleveland Amory

14 Trade Winds, by John G. Fuller

16 As It Happens, by Fred Sparks

20 Top of My Head, by Goodman Ace

43 Letters to the Editor

46 Broadway Postscript: Henry Hewes reviews *The Toilet* and *The Slave*

48 Literary Crypt

58 Literary I.Q.

61 Booked for Travel: Horace Sutton in Hollywood

63 Music to My Ears: Irving Kolodin awards an OBE to William Steinberg

84 Kingsley Double-Crostic No. 1605

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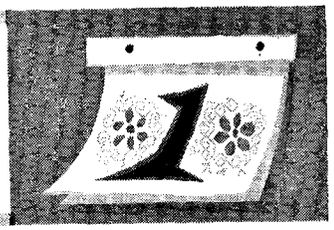

By CLEVELAND AMORY

DECEMBER was the month of Peace on Earth and war in the Congo, of millions for defense of the British pound but not one cent of margin for *comme ci* Comsat, of *John Goldfarb, Please Come Home* and "Dean Burch, please go away." It was also the month when domestic wars got very popular. Not content with a billion-dollar war on poverty, Washington up and announced a $2.8 billion war on disease. Certainly that seemed about enough wars for one year.

• • •

In the event, however, that Washington wants another war, we have a suggestion for a brand new war—a war on war. Enthusiasm for this war is not, we realize, going to be easy to drum up (you will pardon the expression). We have, however, a suggestion for this, too—our own CIA. The way we see it, the CIA ought definitely to be our first line of offense. After all, they've had so much experience, in peacetime, losing all kinds of wars that it ought to be duck soup for them, in wartime, to lose just one peace.

Of course we realize, too, that it isn't going to be easy to get people to recognize the difference, nowadays, between war and peace. But this is hardly our concern. And, in any case, we intend to enlist the full support of Madison Avenue. After all, there is certainly no sense, nowadays, in starting a war on anything if you haven't got Madison Avenue on your side—or at least neutral.

During the month, for example, we saw where the Congressional Medal of Honor was awarded to Army Special Forces Captain Roger Donlon. Captain Donlon was the hero of a five-hour pitched battle against a full-scale Viet Cong attack and was wounded four times. Yet the official White House announcement stated, and we quote, "This is the first Medal of Honor awarded to an individual who distinguished himself while serving with a friendly force engaged in an armed conflict in which the United States is not a belligerent party."

In our war on war, however, we are going to make perfectly clear that we *are* a belligerent party. We are a belligerent party of the very first part—in fact, we're *so* belligerent we're prepared to give billions of dollars to all other belligerents, no matter which side they're on. We are sick and tired of making enemies out of friends by giving them money and aid and arms and everything when by simply giving it to our enemies to start we couldn't do worse and—who knows?—we might do better.

Our war on war has one simple answer for trouble spots all over the world—buy them. Some, of course, are better bargains than others. Mississippi is, we understand, dirt cheap at the present time.

The Congo, on the other hand, presents a different problem. It's expensive. But here we think the obvious answer is to buy it on the reverse instalment plan. Pay now, go later.

Once we get the war on war going, and get people to realize we're going to fight war with war, then we think it will be time, on the home front, to pass a universal military service law and enlist everybody. Take the married men as well as the single and give the husbands equal rank with their wives—after all, this is a democracy. Above all, we think we should enlist our youth. It's high time we drafted those war babies—when you come right down to it, they've had pretty nearly twenty years now of being peace babies.

Which brings up, finally, the question of the Peace Corps. Obviously, in our over-all effort to stamp out war all over the globe, the Peace Corps has a major role to play. And we think that they should be able to give a pretty fair account of themselves—properly equipped, of course, with nuclear peaceheads.

• • •

Our favorite speech of the month was delivered at the luncheon following the ground-breaking ceremony of the John F. Kennedy Cultural Center in Washington—a speech by the Center's distinguished architect, Edward Durrell Stone. "Good taste," said Mr Stone, "dictates that an artist should not boast about his work. In this case, however, I am compelled to acknowledge that I think this project is very beautiful. And I remind you that there is historic precedent for me to take this attitude. The late, great Frank Lloyd Wright once said that early in life he had had to decide between honest arrogance and hypocritical humility—that he had

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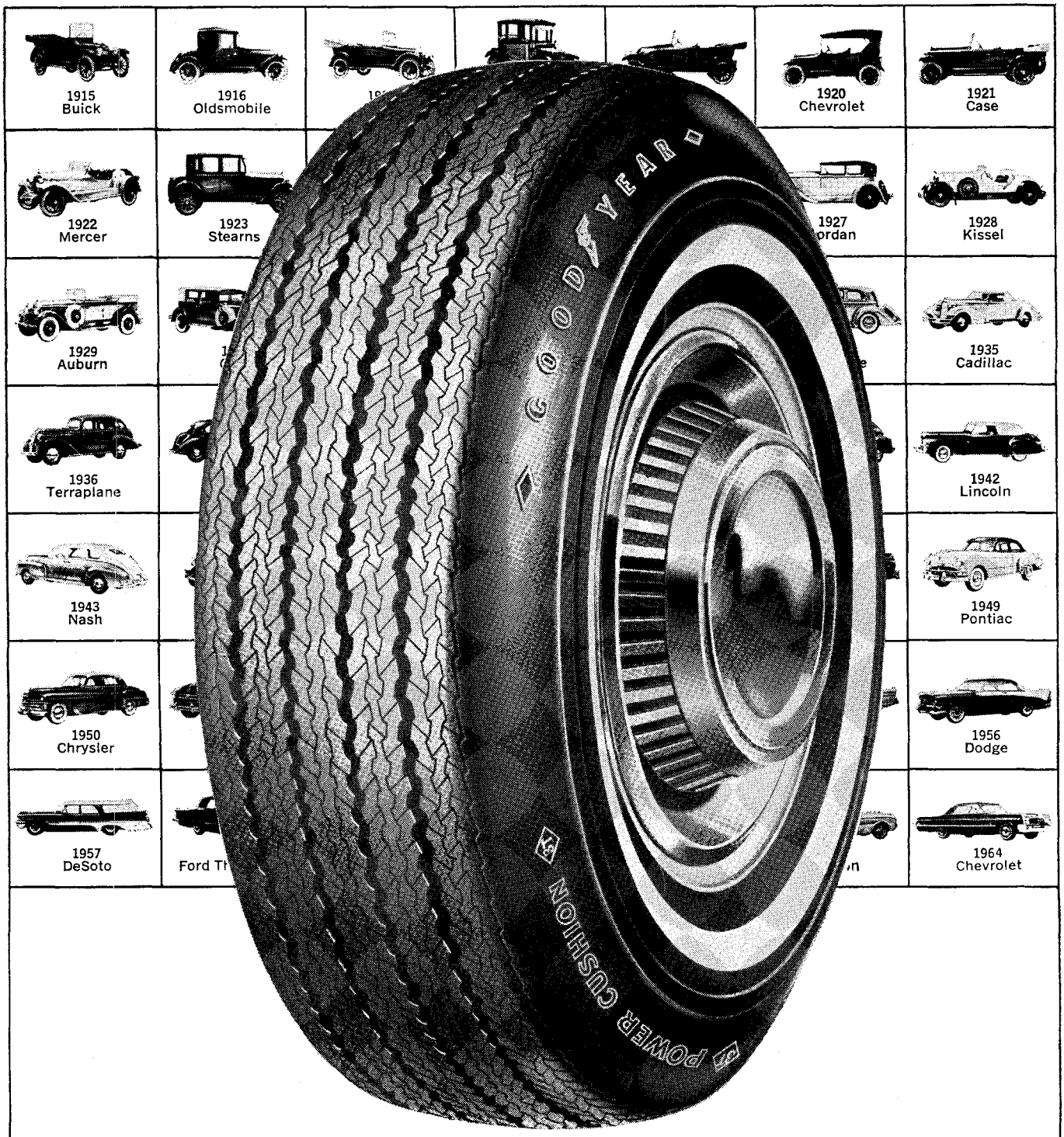

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since 1915, it has been true . . .

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Duke of Wellington

An open-minded attitude toward what's possible and what's impossible is one of the mainstays of our research effort.

Extreme care is always used with that word "impossible." Instead, most of us (not all) cultivate the blunt optimism of the Duke and try to make it part and parcel of our work.

Perhaps it was put best by a friend of ours when he described us as "optimists, but intelligent optimists."

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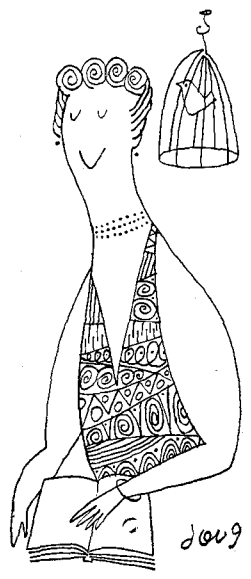
chosen the former and never had any cause for regret."

On the literary front we asked Robert Lee of Lawrence and Lee fame (*Auntie Mame, Inherit the Wind,* etc.) what he thought of Merle Miller's book, *Only You, Dick Daring.* "I'd say," he replied quietly, "that it's *The Silent Spring* of television."

The literary man of the month, however, was New York State Supreme Justice Henry Clay Greenberg, the man whose granting of a temporary injunction, sought by Notre Dame to bar distribution of the film *John Goldfarb, Please Come Home,* may well prove a landmark in literary law. "Neither the book nor the motion picture," read the crucial part of the decision, "is a satire, burlesque, or any other form of literary portrayal or criticism of the University of Notre Dame or its team; nor does it represent an educational, cultural, moral, or sociological crusade in the public welfare. Thus, the name Notre Dame and the university's symbols stand distinct and separate from the subject literary creations, and their use can in no way be classified as any form of art or literature, or a part thereof. It must be noted that in this connection it is of no relevance that the effect of the use might be deemed critical of, or even injurious to, the reputation of the University of Notre Dame."

• • •

Finally, in view of the difficulties of Britain during the month, we are pleased to report the reappearance of an old favorite story—direct from the International Sportsmen's Club in London. This establishment, it seems, in a burst of sanitary enthusiasm, had sent a sample of the water in its swimming pool to be tested by the public analyst. In short order, the analyst sent back his report. "This horse," it read, "has diabetes."



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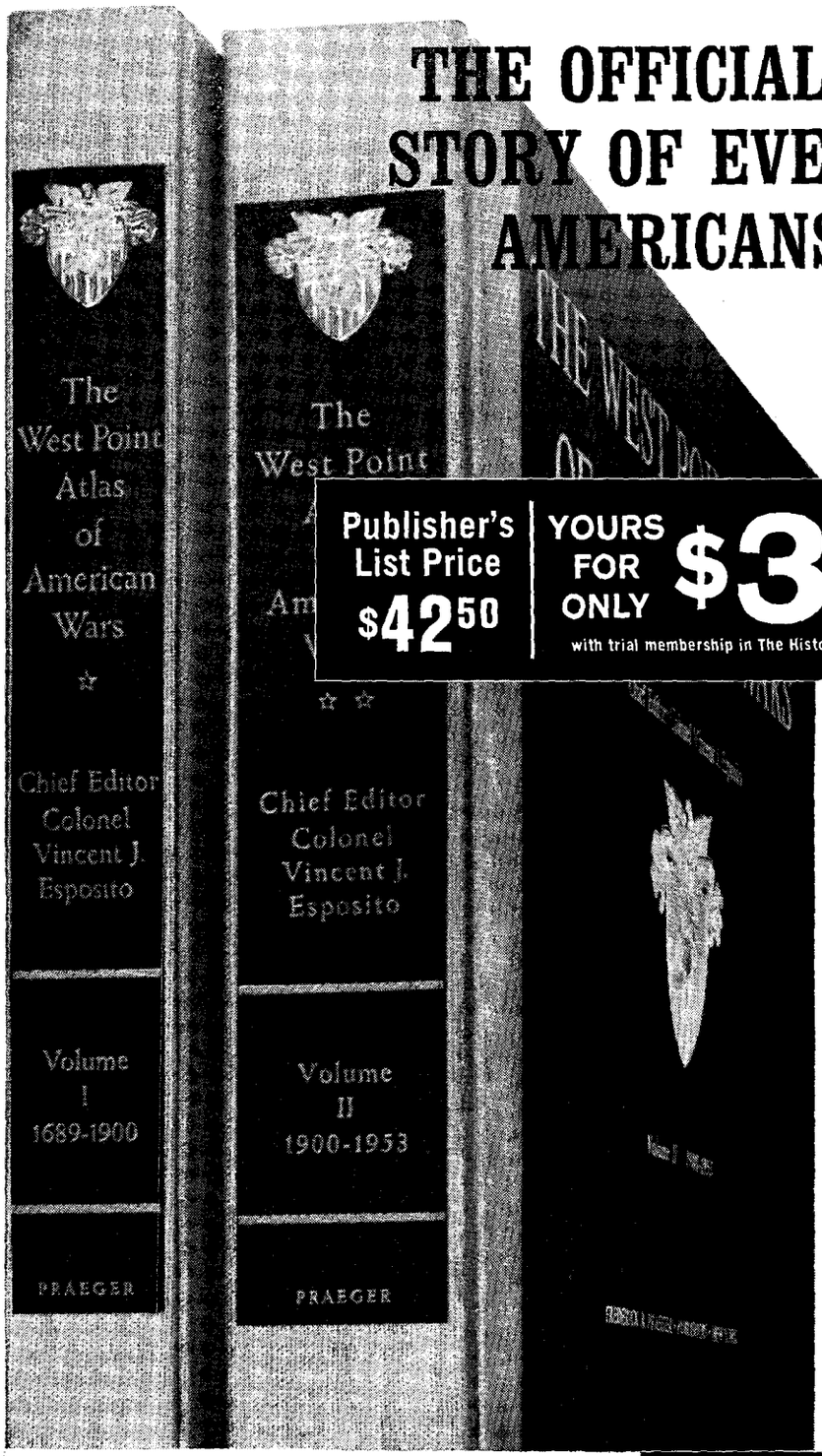

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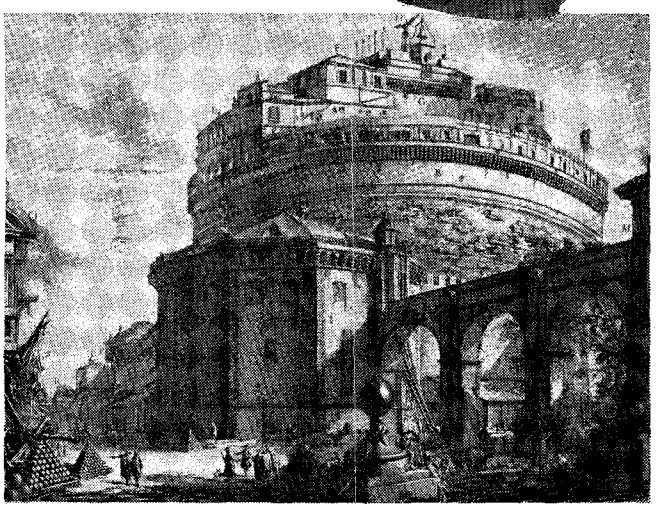

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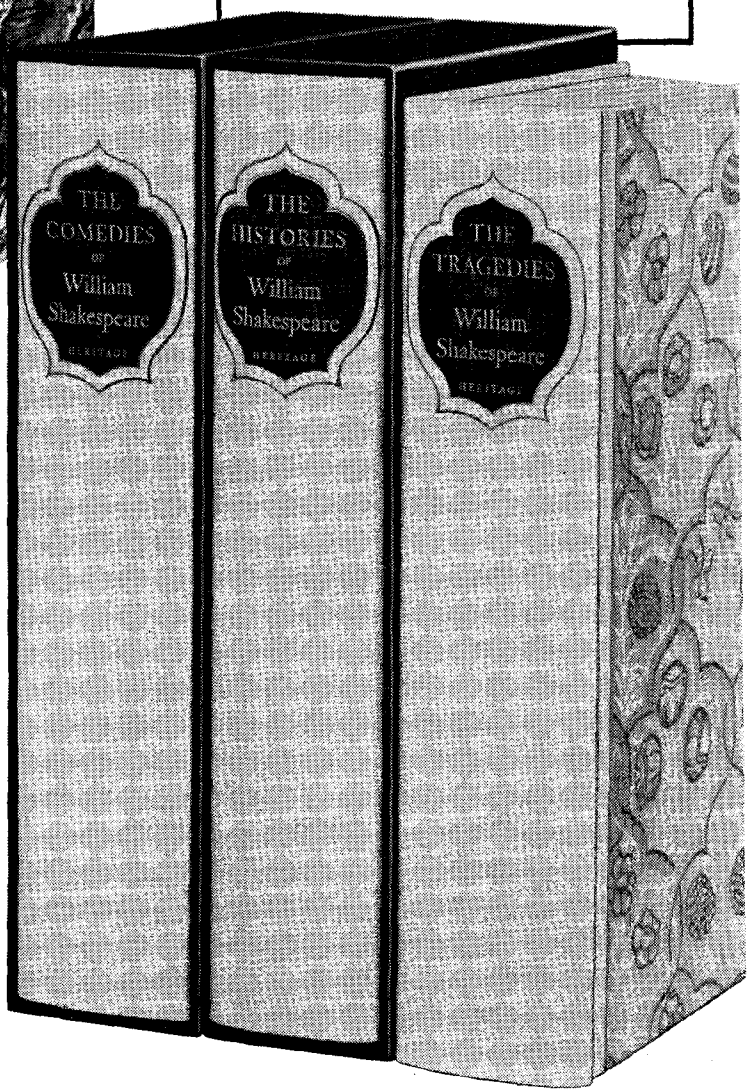

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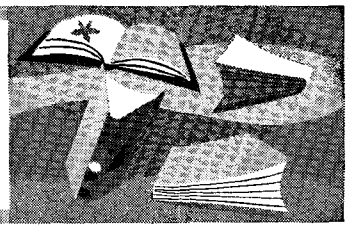

LEST auld acquaintance be forgot
We'll let the New Year come
With toasts of brandy (apricot)
And Scotch and buttered rum.

To John O'Hara, Joseph Krutch,
And Laura Hobson, too;
To T. Capote some special hootch
And Ashley Montagu.

We'll pass along in word and deed
A mite of New Year fever
To Jean Anouilh and Margaret Mead,
To Salinger and Cheever.

To Kerouac and Robert Graves
To Forester and Kerr
We'll wish a rash of critics' raves
From near and also fur.

A rousing year from post to pillar
And lots of revenue
To Eric Bentley, Arthur Miller,
Jimmy Baldwin, too.

A private railroad car from Pullman,
Castles set in Spain,
To Nabokov and Maxy Shulman
(Not to skip Spillane).

A guardian angel as your pal,
And a doctorate degree
To Morgan, Henry; Morgan, Al,
And Cleveland Amory.

May many happy, fair winds blow
From each and every fellow,
For Mr. Sandburg, C. P. Snow,
For Auden and for Bellow.

May Gypsy Rose and sister June
And also Nelson Algren
All sing a wistful, lilting tune
With large—and not a small—grin.

May Herbert Caen, Nathaniel Benchley,
Packard, Cozzens, Buck
Enjoy both now and eventually
The best of bookman's luck.

May both the Caldwells—Erskine,
Taylor—
Sing a zesty song,
Joined by scowling Norman Mailer
And Mitch, to sing along.

May publishers have books to sell
From Maine to Tokyo,
May Little, Brown sound the bell
And Houghton-Mifflin crow.

May Dutton's horses churn the turf
To launch a winning spree,
And Random House enjoy the surf
(Both Bennett and the sea).

May there never be a troubled day
In Bookland's paradise
For those at Grove and Doubleday
And non-book Bernard Geiss.

Let critics read along in awe
And shipping clerks be frantic
At Alfred Knopf, McKay, McGraw,
And also at Atlantic.

Let luck shine down on every house
And wits become much sharper
At Dodd and Mead and Farrar, Straus
And Merrill (Bobbs) and Harper.

Retain a firm and jolly heart
And never suffer sorrow
At Scribner's, World, and Holt, Rinehart
And Pantheon and Morrow.

May Oxford, Cambridge, Harcourt,
Brace
And Dial and old Macmillan
The heady wine of luck embrace;
Let nowhere lurk a villain.

May Lippincott and Duell-Sloan
(As well as Atheneum)
Count up best-sellers as their own
(Both weekly, and per diem).

May Viking, Crown, and Putnam sit
Along with Simon & Schuster
In the glow of a smashing hit
(Where really very few stir).

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Or add to any sum,
Just drown your tears without adieu
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—JOHN G. FULLER.

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"John Rogers, you can't lie to me!" Josie threatened.

"But I *do*, Josie, I *do*," said John.

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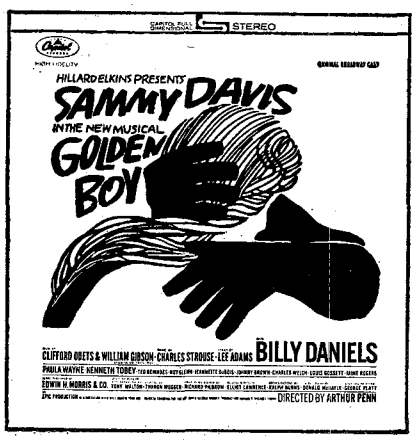

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Congo President Tshombe says: "Tribal hatreds compound my problems." May your tribes decrease.

Critics of J. Edgar Hoover are using the old Fisk advertising slogan: Time to retire.

East Orange, New Jersey, plans to put all public schools on one campus. An educational shopping center.

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Foreign demonstrators are benefiting the book industry. They've sacked eighteen USIA Libraries.

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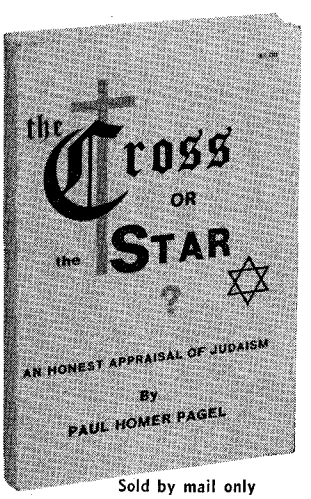

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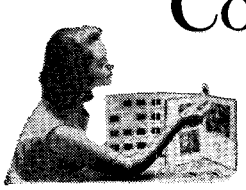

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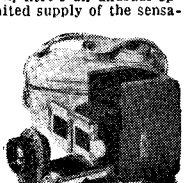

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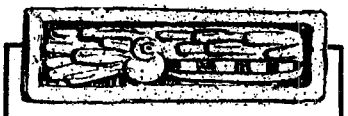

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(*Continued on page* 59)

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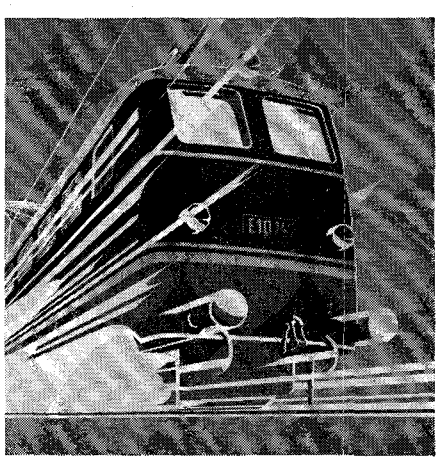

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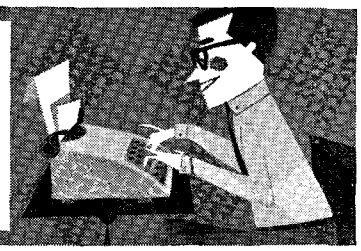

THE REST of the world may be writing letters to editors complaining about the Congo, South Vietnam, or the taxi shortage in New York, but *Saturday Review* readers, bless them, take pen in hand to argue whether the noun "none" takes the singular or plural verb form. The most mail this column has received came the week I mentioned that the book *None Dare Call It Treason* should have been *None Dares*. . . . Would we were all living in that kind of world.

But I'm used to getting vituperative mail on this sort of cause. It was ten years ago that I began a crusade against an immense billboard at the approach to the Queensborough Bridge. It advertised a beer and read: "Our Hand Has Never Lost It's Skill." You wouldn't think a little apostrophe like that could snarl up traffic on a busy bridge. New York had the biggest traffic jam ever seen. Cars were backed up for blocks. And I'm proud to say my car headed the caravan. And as I got out and pointed to the billboard every car became a crusader on my side. You never heard such honking in your life.

Finally a traffic cop came over and wanted to know what was going on. I pointed to the sign and tried to explain it was an affront.

"Get moving," he said. "It's none of your business."

"That's correct," I said. "That apostrophe is right."

So I took the ticket and moved on, resolving never to quit till I had this eyesore removed from the New York landscape. It took a year or so but it was finally changed. I can imagine the painters arriving one morning and hoisting themselves up on their scaffold to erase the apostrophe.

"Now what is it we're supposed to do?"

"Don't ask me why, but they want us to paint out that little curlicue up there."

"Why?" It looks kinda cute."

"Don't argue with me. If they want to pay overtime for that, it's OK with me."

"Well, what can you expect with Truman in the White House?"

The letters on the "none" matter are equal on both sides. A little more equal on the side against using the singular predicate. They quoted everybody from Noah Webster to Henry Watson Fowler.

Nonetheless

I quote the eminent lexicographer Fowler in a letter by William H. Davenport, Claremont, California:

> *Dare* as 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. is the idiomatic form instead of *dares* when the infinitive depending on it either has no *to* or is understood; this occurs chiefly, but not only, in interrogative & negative sentences. Thus *dares*, though sometimes used in mistaken striving after correctness, would be contrary to idiom in *Dare he do it?*; *He dare not!—Yes, he dare; He dare do anything; No-one dare oppose him.*

Any questions?

Another letter from Helen S. Barr, Beaufort, South Carolina, came up with the original quote written by Sir John Harrington (1561-1612):

> Treason doth never prosper; what's the reason? Why, if it prosper, none dare call it treason.

But Sir John Harrington (1561-1612) didn't have to deal with James F. Fixx, feature editor of *Saturday Review*. According to his ruling he may find fault with this epigram from Sir John Harrington (1561-1612). Mr. Fixx's ruling:

> It is true that "none" can be either singular or plural. In Mr. Ace's discussion of the title *None Dare Call It Treason*, however, it seems to me his criticism is right. The reason is that the meaning of the word is clearly identical with "no one" rather than with "none of them." "No one" always takes a singular verb.

Well, did we prove anything? None dare(s) say. You know, I have a feeling I shouldn't have started this whole thing: I should have stuck to *amo, amas, amat*—never end a sentence with a preposition—take care to never split an infinitive—and carry a big stick.

But I learned one thing—it doesn't pay to be a wise guy. Or as my old English prof, Roy Ivan Johnson, put it more elegantly: "Never pronounce a word correctly if it will make you conspic-U-ous." Incidentally, he also said: "I don't give a hang for a man who can only spell a word one way."

As for "none," I'm out of it. Let the argument now rage between Sir John Harrington (1561-1612) and Mr. Fixx. I suggest Mr. Fixx get in touch with Sir John. Just dial 1561-1612.

—GOODMAN ACE.

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SIR ALEC GUINNESS COMMENTS ON HIS NEW RECORDING

"There may be rhyme in this choice of poems but *there is very little reason*"

The selection is purely eclectic. I have started with four poems by E. E. Cummings . . . the things he writes about with such delicacy and precision and wit — spring, birds, moonlight — are the very stuff of poetry to my mind. Although Dame Edith Sitwell's *Façade* poems have been done often I couldn't resist "I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside" and "Polka" for the sheer pleasure of trying to get my tongue around them at speed. Belloc's "Tarantella" seemed a sonorous way of closing the first mood.

From Belloc I have moved straight into the imaginative romanticism of Turner and Graves' tender advice on the stuff of dreams. "Strange Meeting" by Wilfred Owen is also a dream poem.

Shakespeare's *Henry VI* is seldom performed, but the King's soliloquy can stand up to the best. Shakespeare's kings, when put in a tight corner, usually come up with something simple and splendid.

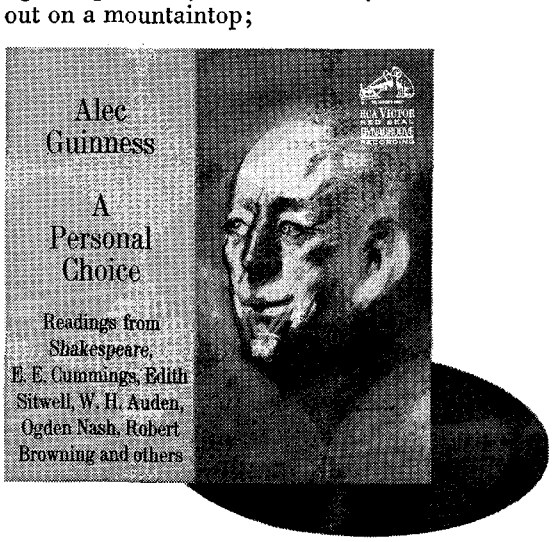
There is a tinkling sharpness of the clavichord in "A Toccata of Galuppi's" by Browning. I suppose it cannot be classed as "great" but then I haven't necessarily chosen what I consider "great" poems — you can't live day in and out on a mountaintop; you need to browse in the valleys.

Some months ago Mr. Ogden Nash gave me permission to read "Serviette in a Lovely Home" and, now, has allowed me to record it. I have added Arthur Hugh Clough's gay tribute to money as a footnote to Mr. Nash's brilliant indignation with Miss Nancy Mitford.

Blake's "Night" I've included to satisfy my nostalgia for childhood's dreams.

"The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo" by Gerard Manley Hopkins is an old favorite of mine . . . written with a wild enthusiasm which I find infectious.

. . . Alec Guinness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HIGH STYLIST

Designing woman? Yes indeed, but in a most admirable sense. As a member of the General Motors design team, she is preparing sketches of a steering wheel for a future GM car. Like her male associates on GM's Styling Staff, she is fully qualified and competent to design consumer products in any field.

General Motors hired its first woman designer more than 20 years ago. Originally color and fabric consultants, the young ladies advanced rapidly to full membership in a group effort which now involves the skills of hundreds of people in GM Styling. In the past two decades, the feminine influence has changed many concepts of automotive design.

Women designers have contributed to the development of interior convenience features, safety items and such innovations as color coordination of interiors with exteriors and particular fabrics to suit women's tastes. Many a man, too, is grateful for these and other feminine contributions.

The role of women in designing beauty, utility and quality into GM products is more important than ever before.

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Saturday Review

January 9, 1965

THE CHALLENGE OF PROSPERITY

Exclusive report and analysis presented annually with the Committee for Economic Development

THE CONTINUOUS task facing this and other modern capitalist countries is to insure that our system of private property and competitive markets works efficiently and fairly. This does not mean or suggest a return to *laissez-faire*. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" needs some assistance and guidance. If earlier experience did not convince us on this point, the Great Depression did. The New Deal was the beginning of intensified efforts, still continuing, to modify American capitalism by political process.

In large measure such efforts have been directed, with considerable success, to improving the operation of the system, to reducing economic hazards to individuals, and to helping the underprivileged. On the other hand, much has been done that serves the special interests of particular groups, with little benefit, and sometimes with injury, to the public at large.

It is this general problem with which the 1965 business issue of *SR* concerns itself. Once again the editors of *SR* in conjunction with the Committee for Economic Development, explore a central theme concerned with the national and global economy.

The CED—some 200 businessmen and educators—has been engaging in the study of economic problems and the development of relevant policy statements for more than twenty years. This study has involved a process of self-education with the assistance of scholars and expert practitioners. The members of CED's Research and Policy Committee have attacked a wide variety of problems in many economic fields. Sometimes they have come up with good answers. Sometimes solutions have evaded their grasp. But I think they have contributed many ideas—most of them forward-looking and some of them even daring. In the complex areas of fiscal and monetary policies and international financial arrangements, and even in such matters as the urbanization of our society, agricultural policy, and education, CED has sought and identified means for improving the operation of the economy and enhancing the welfare of the people.

Such work, however, is never finished. In a recent lecture I tried to make a checklist of the important economic problems that will continue to demand our attention in this country. This list suggests areas in which there will be opportunities for improvements by additions, deletions, and modifications of policy:

► Reduction of economic instability through appropriate fiscal and monetary policies.

► Control of cost-price inflation.

► The balance of international payments and international financial mechanisms.

► Competition and monopoly in business and labor markets.

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► Chronic excessive unemployment.
► Reduction of poverty, and relief for those in poverty.
► Growth of population.
► Accelerating economic growth.
► Facilitating and/or easing adjustments to dynamic changes, such as automation, foreign competition, and shifts in demand.
► Taxation—levels and structure.
► Government expenditures—how much and for what?
► Relation of federal, state, and local taxes and expenditures.
► Reducing economic hazards for the individual—unemployment insurance, pensions, medicare, and other social security programs.
► Minimum wages and other minimum standards of employment.
► International trade; tariffs and subsidy policies; trade with poor countries; trade with Communist countries.
► Assistance for underdeveloped countries.
► Determination of the scope of private enterprise and of government business, respectively.
► Economic policies of the government in its own operations—defense, transportation, urban renewal, education, and other fields of government activity and financing.
► Improving criteria for, and processes of, decision-making in government on economic issues.

This is a long list and a hard list. Some of these are stubborn problems about which it is easy to be fatalistic. To cope with them will require knowledge, imagination, wisdom, and courage, fused in persistent effort. Such effort will sometimes seem futile unless one has faith, as we do, in the American people, in their intelligence and ability to recognize their larger, long-run interests.

As Frazar Wilde points out in his article, citizens have taken great strides in recent years in their understanding of fiscal policy, the budget, and taxation. Fields once left to the confusion of experts have become part of the conventional wisdom of the people.

In this issue of *SR* the papers are addressed to fiscal and monetary policies and related institutions. It is noteworthy that the measures discussed do not involve direct control of businesses or of individuals. Instead, they work through the flow of funds that are expended in markets, thus influencing economic activity but still leaving to individuals and businesses freedom of choice and action. Without such freedom the economy cannot effectively serve the needs and desires of the people, nor can it have the fluidity and vitality essential for efficiency and progress.

—Theodore O. Yntema, *Chairman*
Research and Policy Committee, CED.

The contributors to this issue of *SR* are all men who have dedicated much of their time and attention to the problems discussed by Mr. Yntema. Frazar B. Wilde is chairman of CED and chairman of the board of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. John Anderson has been Governor of Kansas and a leading participant in recent discussions on federal-state and local relationships. Allan Sproul was president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Kermit Gordon, former member of the Council of Economic Advisors, is director of the Bureau of the Budget.

—Roy Stevens.

President Johnson addressing CED members at their meeting in November—a search for efficiency with fairness.

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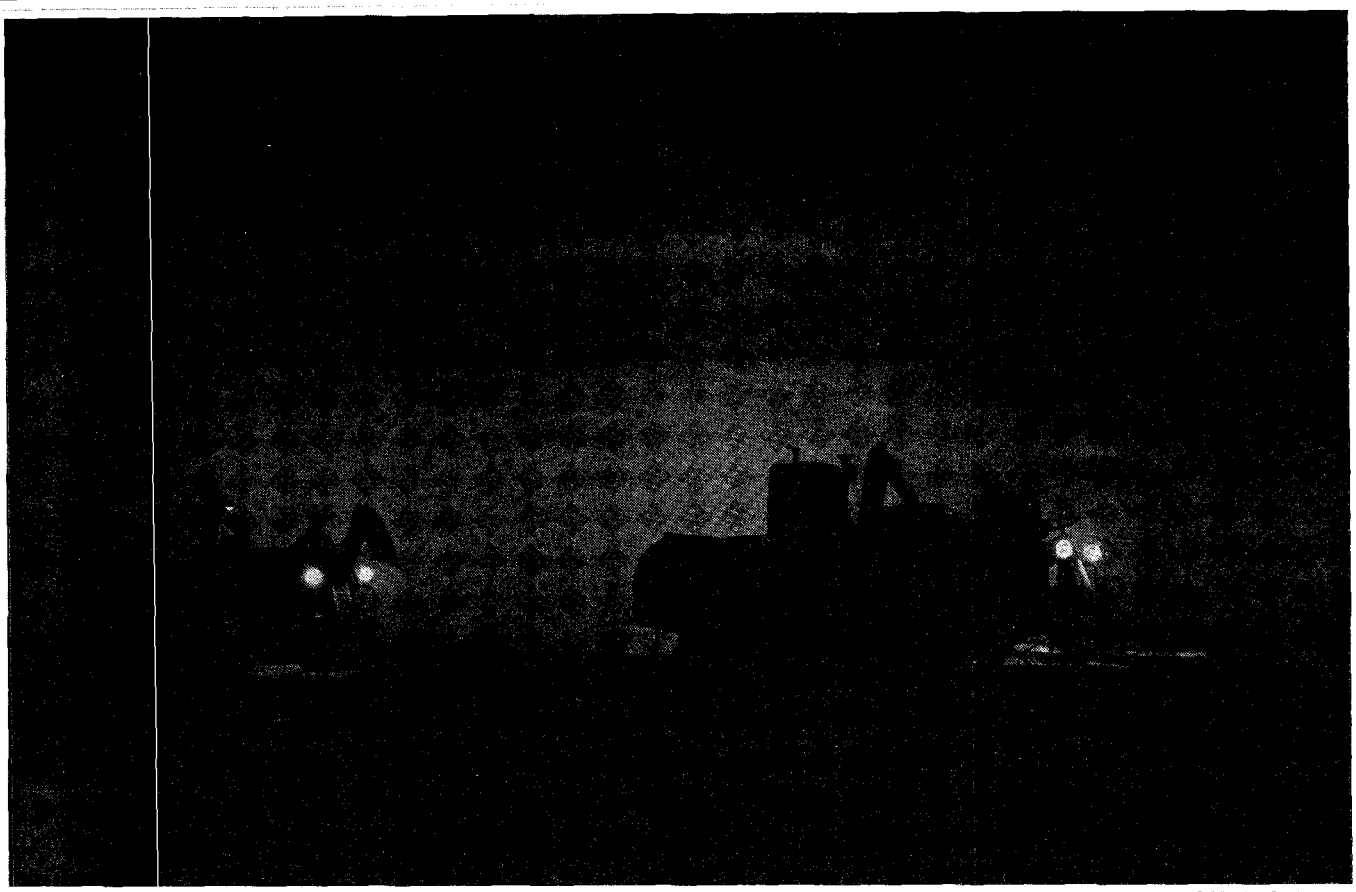

—*Townsend-Bloch, Monkmeyer.*

Night work on an automated farm—"a revolution in social and economic structure."

THE CHALLENGE OF PROSPERITY

How Much Should Government Do?

By KERMIT GORDON

IN A community where I once lived, there was a civic association dedicated to the economical conduct of the local government. Since I shared this interest, I undertook to look into the policies of the association in order to decide whether or not I should join.

I never did become a member, for I discovered that the association had a view of the meaning of economy that I could not accept. The association had a simple, one-plank program—opposition to any proposals for *new* programs that cost money. I found no evidence that the group had any interest in looking critically at the usefulness of ongoing programs, or weighing the prospective benefits of new proposals against the realized benefits of old programs, or searching for ways to cut the costs of governmental activities without reducing their benefits. Just a single objective—oppose anything new.

I remember thinking at the time how great a distortion of the meaning of economy this view conveyed. But I later discovered that Edmund Burke fretted about the same question two centuries ago. "Economy," said Burke, "is a distributive virtue, and consists not in saving but in selection . . . Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison, no judgment."

My friends in the civic association were practicing parsimony under the guise of economy. If there is a common conservative error in the way the citizen looks at public budgeting, this is probably it. For parsimony is not only distinguishable from economy—it is often the enemy of economy. To accept the status quo of government programs while opposing innovation is to run the risk of spending money on objects of lesser urgency while denying recognition to more compelling needs. And this, of course, is the very opposite of economy. It is waste.

The path of parsimony often leads to a narrow preoccupation with a single measure of the soundness of government finance—the total size of the public budget. If the budget does not increase over the previous year, it is thought on that ground alone to be a good budget. But this is clearly an imperfect test. A budget unchanged in total size from the year before may constitute simply a timid extension of established programs, however questionable some of them may be, or it may reflect a searching effort to expand here and contract there in order to increase the benefits flowing from a given amount of expenditure.

This is what President Johnson had in mind when he said in his budget message last January:

> An austere budget need not be and should not be a standstill budget. When budgetary restraint leads the government to turn its back on new needs and new problems, economy becomes but another word for stagnation. But when vigorous pruning of old programs and procedures releases the funds to meet new challenges and opportunities, economy becomes the companion of progress.

If the confusion of parsimony with economy is the error that often entraps conservatives in their thinking about public budgets, there is a closely symmetrical error that often appears on the liberal side. This is the confusion of profligacy with progress—the disposition to look with favor on an increase in total

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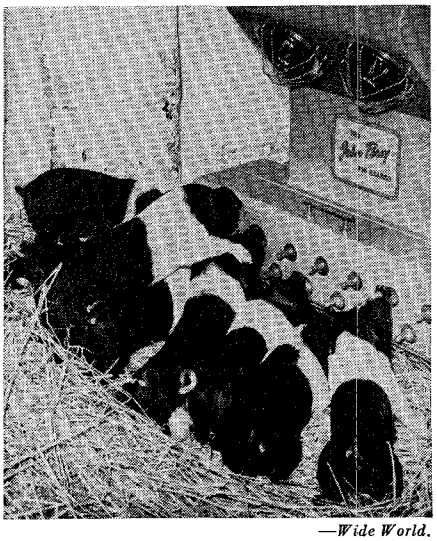
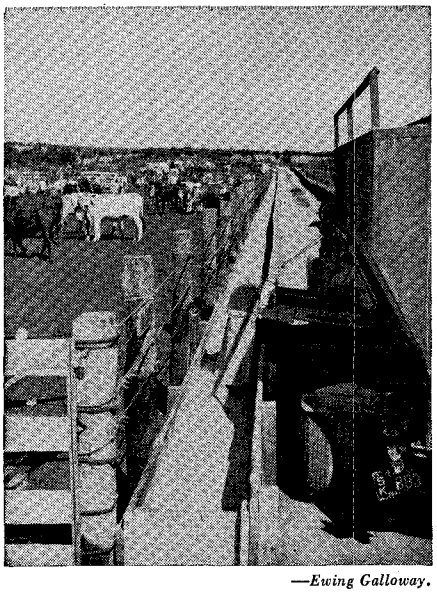
Farming's Changing Ways



—*Wide World.*

Automatic feeder for pigs.



—*Ewing Galloway.*

Automatic feed dispenser.

—*Pace, Monkmeyer.*

Automatic milking machine.

public spending just because it is an increase. This preference for rising expenditures rests on two convictions—the conviction that rising expenditures are needed to stimulate the economy and promote economic growth, and the conviction that the public sector of the economy is too small relative to the private sector.

But as to the first of these, it is clear that a need for fiscal stimulus is not in itself sufficient to justify higher public expenditure, for any stimulus that can be provided through increased expenditures can also be provided through reduced tax rates.

As to the second of these, the proponents of public-sector expansion soon make clear that they are talking not about expansion of our programs for defense, space, veterans, agriculture, or interest on the public debt—which together constitute more than 80 per cent of the administrative budget—but rather about our programs in health, education, welfare, housing and urban renewal, mass transportation, air and water pollution, area development, and related fields.

Certainly, then, however convincing the argument for increased spending in this limited sector, it is hardly a logical basis for favoring increased *total* spending on principle. The case for an increase in total spending must rest on judgments concerning all major programs in the budget, not merely on judgments concerning one sector.

Parsimony and profligacy are false guides to policy for exactly the same reason: both deny the necessity for choice. Neither, in Burke's words, requires providence, sagacity, combination, comparison, or judgment. Neither faces up to the budgetary challenge of the 1960s.

The necessity for choice—for a reexamination of the premises of existing programs, for a weighing of alternatives—is always an imperative of responsible budget-making. But we live in a time when this imperative has taken on a special urgency.

New claims on the federal budget, many of them bearing credentials of the highest merit, press in on every side. We need more education and better education, from the primary grades through the graduate and professional schools. We should expand our job training and retraining programs, both for the unskilled and for those whose skills are obsolete. We must intensify the war on poverty. We need improved outdoor recreation facilities, efficient urban mass transportation, and better mental health facilities. We need to bring the benefits of medical research discoveries to more people more quickly. We should step up our attack on air and water pollution.

These and other demands—new, compelling, and costly—make it doubly necessary that we look carefully at the programs that have already found a place in the federal budget. They are not suspect simply because they are there; but neither does their long tenure exempt them from periodic scrutiny to determine whether their shape and size are appropriate.

The problems of adapting public programs to social change are difficult even in the most favorable circumstances. But when social change proceeds as rapidly as it has in recent years, the difficulties are compounded. Let me try to illustrate the problems of adaptation by drawing on two cases of unusual difficulty—farm policy and water resources policy. These are simply illustrative; others could readily be cited.

We are currently spending between $3.5 billion and $4 billion for farm commodity programs. The rationale for these farm income supports has changed drastically over the years. In the 1930s, farm income supports were basically a relief measure designed to prevent the literal collapse of the farm economy. During the Second World War, and to a lesser extent during the Korean War, income supports were a stimulus for needed production increases. Since then, supports have been used primarily to counteract the price- and income-depressing effects of the increase in farm productivity.

The revolution of the past several decades in farm technology has been accompanied by a revolution in the social and economic structure of the farming industry. In 1963 there were 3,500,000 farms. The 1,000,000 farms with cash receipts of over $10,000 accounted for only 27 per cent of the number of farms but for almost 80 per cent of the sales of farm products. These 1,000,000 farmers could produce all of the nation's farm needs, including our large commercial exports. Taking into account earnings from off-farm work, the 1963 average income of these 1,000,000 relatively successful farmers was over $9,500, up 13 per cent from four years ago. These 1,000,000 farmers earn average rates of return on their capital investments and labor almost equal to the corresponding averages in the nonfarm economy.

Our farm income supports basically operate through the price support technique—although in recent years some direct income payments have crept into the system. This implies that the distribution of the direct and indirect assistance provided by the federal government is roughly the same as the distribution of cash receipts. On this basis, about 80 per cent of our assistance goes to the 1,000,000 farmers whose average income exceeds $9,500. The other 20 per cent of assistance is spread thinly among the remaining 2,500,000 farmers.

These figures highlight the dramatic

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impact of changing farm technology on government farm programs. The farms that produce most of the nation's food and fiber no longer fall into the lowest one-third of the nation's income distribution. Most are successful business firms. Their continued success is of course not independent of government commodity programs, whose elimination would cause a sharp fall in the income of all farmers. But these programs are no longer a means of distributing income to the neediest groups in our population; they are *not* welfare programs. From a welfare standpoint, the chief claimants to assistance are the 2,500,000 farmers who do not now and cannot in the future be expected to operate successful commercial farms. Yet their needs cannot be met through farm commodity programs. Rather, they require assistance in the painful transition to nonfarm jobs, to which most of them or their children will certainly have to move.

This is an area in which our current programs and attitudes are, at least in part, based upon conditions that no longer exist. In the interest of both the farmer and the nation at large, we need to re-examine the hidden premises of our current policies and shape them anew, in closer correspondence to the facts of today's world.

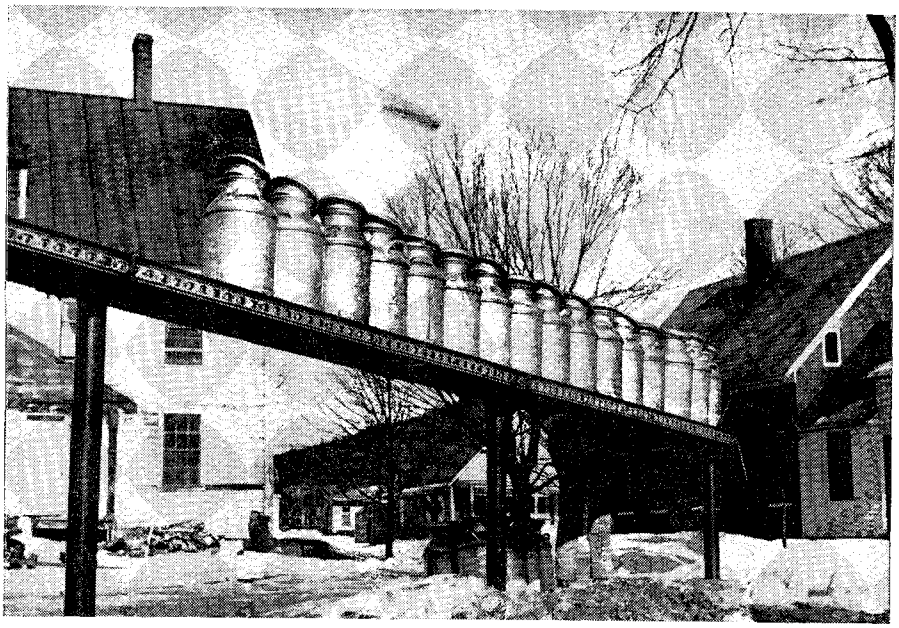
Federal expenditures on water resources and related activities, for example, currently amount to about $1.5 billion per year and are rising at some 3 per cent to 4 per cent annually. These projects serve five major purposes: irrigation, flood control, navigation, hydroelectric power, and recreation—and in many cases one project serves two or more of these purposes.

These outlays constitute national investment in productive facilities. They have played a major role in our national growth, and many regions of the country owe much of their current prosperity to past national investment in water resources. Here, too, however, our current policies and practices are partly based upon objectives and concepts that have been overrun by events. This does not mean, necessarily, that we are spending too much in this area, but we may well be spending too much on some aspects of water resource development and too little on others. Let me illustrate with a few examples.

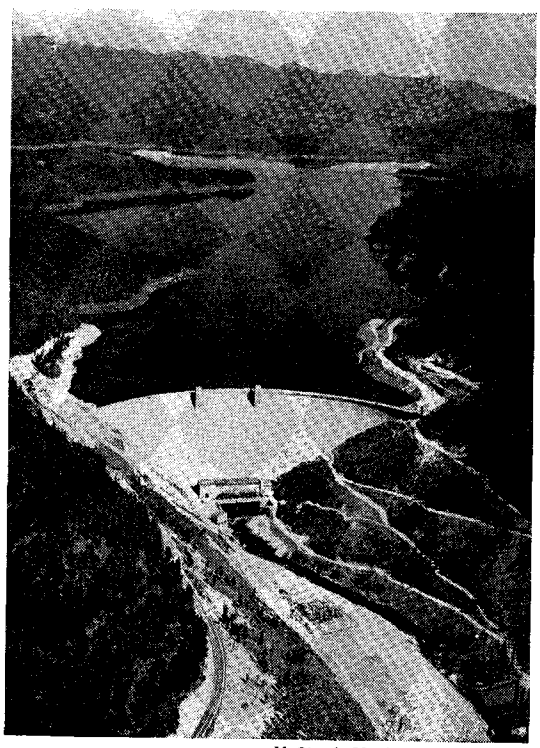
The nation's reclamation program dates from the Reclamation Act of 1902. Since then the total value of projects authorized has been $9.8 billion. Of this amount, about $5 billion has been spent; annual expenditures are now running at about $325 million.

Reclamation investment is principally irrigation investment. Of the $9.8 billion authorized for the program to date, some $5.7 billion has been or will be allocated

(Continued on page 76)



—*Janion, Monkmeyer.*



—*McCloud, Monkmeyer.*

The search for new policies—Farming and water control illustrate the problems of adapting public policy to social change: Above, an automated dairy farm; right, Hungry Horse Dam in Montana; below, irrigation near Mesa, Arizona.

—*Monkmeyer.*

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Economic Goals: View from the White House

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following address was delivered by President Johnson before the Committee on Economic Development on November 19 in Washington, D.C.*

FOR MORE than twenty years the Committee for Economic Development has contributed much to enlighten the discussion of America's most difficult economic problems. Individually and together you have made a most valuable and unique contribution to responsible public policy. In the years ahead, I hope your example will not be so unique but I hope it will be much more universal.

The great opportunity and greater obligation of this moment in our national life is the opportunity and the obligation for all segments of our society to try to be constructive.

Together we have achieved a rather broad and deep consensus. It is not a consensus on personality. It is not a consensus on party. It is a consensus on national purpose and national policy. We now know, as we could not know in the years before, that we are a people who are more united than divided on America's goals.

Out of the events of the past 364 days we have emerged as a more mature, a more reflective, a more discerning and determined people. We know better, I believe, than any other generation of this century what kind of country we want America to be. We know what we want to preserve, what we want to pursue, at home and in the world. For any nation, such a moment, I think, is rare. For our nation, such a moment is too rare to lose.

So this moment of consensus must last and live and grow into a long age of constructiveness—an age in which all sections, all segments, and all sectors contribute their best to building strong foundations for greatness that we hope is still to come.

I said during the recent campaign that I believe we are entering a new era in the affairs of the world. All around the globe new leadership is at the helm of nations that are old and young, that are free, and that are Communistic. Within both the free world and the Communist world new forces and new factors are at work. None of us can know the full meaning of these changes that are taking place, but we can realistically, I think, recognize that the era ahead will be more challenging, more competitive, and more exacting; and, yes, it is going to be more demanding.

Old precepts, old premises, and old patterns may be less and less pertinent to the realities of the new era. We must be the first and not the last to recognize reality. But the change of our times is not confined to the world that is beyond these shores. In all the world, I think there is no nation that is changing more dynamically than our own. I mention only one measure of such change.

Since this Administration began, the population of the United States has increased by more than 10,000,000—and that is equal to half of the population of Canada. Since the tragic day that I came to the Presidency a year ago, there are now about 2,500,000 more Americans. Here at home, as in the world, a new era is beginning. If we are to put in place sure and solid foundations for our future, I believe we must test the realism of the precepts, premises, and patterns of many of our public policies and attitudes. The temptation is great to talk in terms of programs. There is a time and place for that, too; but I would rather, with this audience, speak in terms of principles which must and will guide us on our programs. Specifically, I want to speak in terms of principles relating to the fiscal policies of the federal government.

For much too long, the constructiveness and the creativity of the American people have been dissipated by divisions over our federal budget. I have just left a long discussion with my Cabinet where that was a priority subject. Our very definitions of conservatism and liberalism have come to mean attitudes toward budget size.

For myself, I believe that the budget of our government should be an area of broadest consensus—not an arena of the most partisan contention.

TO specify, I want to say 1) I believe that, barring massive changes in defense spending, your federal government does not have to grow in size relative to the size of the economy.

2) With the continuing drive for economy and efficiency that we are waging relentlessly, we can keep government budgets under control so that they grow no more rapidly—and I would hope may grow less rapidly—than our economy grows.

3) By the same approach, we can have fewer federal workers per thousand of the total population. I might add that in September we had fewer federal workers than at any time in the last two and a half years.

4) Programs that no longer serve a vital purpose can and must be pruned away and all programs must be administered with the same careful efficiency as a prudent householder or a prudent businessman applies.

5) A frugal budget need not and should not be a stagnant budget. It must have room for new programs to meet the aspirations of the American people and to help us meet unfilled needs. At the same time new programs should be undertaken only when they offer a higher value to the nation than we would get if the taxpayers spent the money themselves.

6) The federal government must take into account the impact of its total spending and its taxing on our economic life, on markets, on jobs, on wages, on prices, on capital investments. The Committee for Economic Development recognized this principle long ago. An ever-broadening consensus, conservative and liberal, labor and business, Republican and Democrat, now accepts it. That consensus recognizes that true fiscal responsibility will achieve a balanced budget out of the rising revenues of the healthy and prosperous economy. Budgetary balance will not be achieved by reckless cutbacks of expenditures to fit the revenues of slick economy. But can these principles be applied? I think the answer is definitely "Yes," because this is what we are doing. Let me give you these examples:

To meet the demands of a society that is rapidly growing in population, wealth, and complexity, we are spending more for education, vocational training, and retraining. A child with a grammar school education will earn during his lifetime an average of $150,000. A child who goes through high school earns $272,000. A child who will go through college and beyond in his lifetime will average $452,000. So in plain, hard figures, it means that a college-trained person earns $300,000

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more than one who has not had elementary, secondary, or college education. When Uncle Sam will get say 52 per cent of that extra $300,000, we get a pretty good return on the investment we made in training that person. So, I submit, to increase the earnings of every American child is not only bankable but is a prime investment. If private financing lends a man $20,000 over twenty-five years to build a house which does not grow and make a profit, it is my position that the same homeowner can be loaned the money to build his son into an educated man whose income will grow $300,000 on a mere $20,000 loan.

We must have more money for medical research and public health. You take the great loss that this nation suffers every year by the millions who are stricken down with strokes, with cancer, and with heart attacks. It makes it absolutely essential that we pursue, with vigor and a sense of urgency, a means for finding the answers to those man-killers. We must have also a fight on poverty and we must make it stronger than it has ever been before in our history.

Total federal spending in 1965 will be the lowest in fourteen years in terms of our Gross National Product. Non-defense spending will be lower than it was thirty years ago in terms of our Gross National Product. There are fewer federal employees now than there were a year ago when I took office. That is unusual with a growing population; it is unusual with so many of our unfilled needs that we have actually cut not only federal expenditures but we have cut federal employees. Federal workers now are 3.9 per cent of total non-farm employment. In 1953 they were 4.6 per cent. You see, the reduction in the percentage has been made.

After eliminating the employees of the Defense Department, Post Office Department, and Veterans Administration—the three big, substantial employers—your federal government now operates with fewer civilian employees than the nation's telephone industry.

Now, what about the prospects in regard to defense? Well, for the past four years, military spending has risen by almost 25 per cent, and defense expenditures are up 25 per cent. We have spent roughly $30 billion more on defense than we were spending in 1960. After President Kennedy came back from Geneva, we felt that we had better increase our preparedness efforts. We have spent about $10 million more on space than at the rate we were spending in 1960, and gone from $41 billion for defense in fiscal 1960 to nearly $50 billion in fiscal 1964. Today, for fiscal 1965 and beyond, the level of defense spending is going to remain constant or we will make a slight reduction if there is no significant change in the threats that we face.

There are two reasons: First, we have achieved many of the needed changes and increases in our military force structure as a result of this heavy expenditure; and second, we have begun to benefit from the rigorous five-year cost-reduction program which last year alone saved $2.8 billion in unnecessary expenditures and in operating costs.

I have pledged that we will remain first in the use of science and technology for the protection of our people. I do not think that we as a nation can be first in the world and second in space.

We are now spending more than $6 billion per year for military research and development, and research costs will probably increase in future years.

But the budgetary impact of increased military strength will be more than offset by savings from Mr. McNamara's cost-reduction program. That program should, by fiscal 1968, be saving us $4.6 billion each year.

My point is simply this: In the new era beginning for our country, we are challenged to do more than we have ever done to preserve peace, to defend freedom, to assure freedom's full meaning for all Americans. But we need not and we must not restrict our response to these challenges by being either parsimonious or prodigal with our public monies.

The kind of constructive and creative spirit that CED has fostered can help us, I think, find new guides, better ways, more satisfactory answers—just as the $14 billion tax cut is doing.

Many of you had much to do with making the tax cut possible. Benefits are evident everywhere in rising sales, in expanding payrolls—all without the inflation many feared.

When you encourage men to go out and make capital investments and you give them the hope—we hope it is a prudent hope, too—that they can recover a reasonable return on that investment and not have it confiscated, you do many things. First and foremost, you increase payrolls. Second, you increase price stability because the more competition you have the more productive capability you have, so the more likely you are to have stable prices—and not have shortages.

We are maintaining, I think, the best record of overall price stability of any industrial country in the world. And we are doing it without the iron hand of price or wage controls. We are doing it with a free-spirited competition, and we are doing it by going out and making new capital investments and by creating additional productivity with a sense of restraint and responsibility, and that is not a one-way street, either.

We must have responsible businessmen and responsible labor leaders, and they must put their country ahead of themselves.

Wholesale prices are no higher than they were last January, and they are the same as the 1959 average.

Prices that consumers pay have inched up since 1961 at half the rate of the preceding four years. Our economy is expanding without excesses and without distortions and without the tightening of credit and without the boosting of interest that can so easily turn expansion into a recession. We so very much hope that we will not have these boosts.

I KNOW that there are some advocates in some quarters of the business community, and there may be some necessary actions that have to be taken, but we are very proud of the fact that we have now gone forty-five months without any dip, without any recession. That is the longest in the history of this country, and we are fighting to extend that record.

This price stability has enabled us to cut our international payments deficits in half. Our balance of payments, I believe, was 3.3 last year and will perhaps be 2 this year and stop the outflow of our gold.

The price level in a free economy can remain stable only if wage advances generally stay within the bounds of the economic gains in productivity and if industries which enjoy very high productivity gains share their gains with consumers in lower prices to offset the rising prices of services where productivity often lags.

This, then, is our basic guidepost.

There is no big-stick policy to enforce such a policy —only the force of good business judgment, only the

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force of responsible union policy, only the force of an informed public opinion.

But I believe, as I said earlier, that there is a strong consensus of responsibility and prudence and understanding in America. There is a will to be constructive, there is a will to be progressive and to be prudent.

What the new eras abroad and at home can hold, none can know, but with this spirit here I think we can embark upon the new age with confidence in our country and strength in its successes.

For the next four years we are going to try to have progressive and prudent government leadership. This is going to be no business government. This is going to be no labor government. We are not trying to apply any special label and we are not trying to court any specific segment of our population.

I want very much to be President of all of the people, and I want every businessman in this land and every working man to know that it is my purpose and my goal to give equality of treatment and to give the kind of leadership that is dependable, and that is calculated to earn the confidence of all of the citizens.

I do not interpret the election as a mandate to any reckless, novel, dangerous, or unique course. Our emphasis these next four years is going to be just as it was when the Republic of Texas was founded. The President of the Republic of Texas said: "Education is the guardian genius of democracy. It is the only ruler that free men recognize and the only dictator that free men desire."

So our budget is going to emphasize reform in cutting out any unnecessary expenditures that we can cut out, and we are going to place a very special emphasis on teaching people and preparing people and qualifying people and trying to make taxpayers out of tax eaters.

I have gone into the unemployment pockets of this country. I have seen the hope in the eyes of the people that a better day would come notwithstanding what you might hear, see, or believe. I do not want to see several generations come and go without ever having known private employment.

We have 2,300,000 youths who will be eighteen years old this year. There will be more than half a million people who will find the college door closed to them, and they will find no jobs available at the doors on which they knock. We have to do something with them. We can let them become nuisances or delinquents or we can prepare them to be qualified to do what needs to be done.

I was in one state and they told me that they had unemployment of 138,000, but they had 93,000 vacancies that they could not get filled because the men were not equipped to fill the jobs.

I particularly need good men in the federal government. We need top-flight men, and those of you who find time to criticize the mistakes we make can spare us some of those mistakes and some of that foolishness if you will just look into your own organizations and find a man or two who needs some Washington training.

There are some men who have stayed here as long as they can afford to stay. They are out of money and the bankers are calling their loans. I lost an Undersecretary of the Treasury, a real financial genius, because a banker would not extend his loan and Congress would not pass the pay bill.

In the days ahead, I would be very grateful if you would let the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission know of any competent executive leaders who you think might be persuaded to come here and help us do the most important job in the world—trying to preserve and trying to lead, trying to keep our eyes on the stars and our feet on the ground. I never want to keep both of them there all the time, but I want to take one step and, when I do, be sure the other one is holding steady. I do not want to get both feet off the ground at the same time—as some people do.

So we do need good, trained leaders in government because the rest of the world looks to us to set an example, and I look to you to help me.

The doors of the White House are open to you. I cannot see each of you every time that you may have a problem that you want to discuss—but I do want you to know that I feel your problems are mine. I do want to see you prosper and make profits.

Profits after taxes this year are up 20 per cent. Labor's wages after taxes are up some six or seven per cent. We are doing well, we want to continue to do well—but we can do better.

I AM distressed sometimes when I see the divisions in the country that you would not think should concern a man who got the support of the people that I did in such overwhelming numbers. I do not expect unanimity in our ranks. I do know we will have differences of opinion, but I said when I became Democratic Leader —and Mr. Eisenhower was a Republican President— that I would support the President when he was right and I would hold his hand high. And if he was wrong, in my judgment, I would try to submit an alternative to his program and let the people choose between the two and let the Senators choose. If I disagreed with him, I would say so courteously, candidly. I would not discuss personalities or indulge in them, and I would not talk about his family or his dogs.

The people let me stay in the minority only two years. And they selected a Democratic Majority to work with a Republican President the remaining six years, because I think they approved of the responsibility.

I am pleased to say, without getting political, that a good many members, a good many voters in this country, a good many citizens of this country still feel the same way. They think a man's first duty is to his country—and that is my philosophy.

When asked to explain whether I was a liberal or conservative, or rancher or banker, or businessman or public servant, I said: "I am all of them. I do not go by any label. First, I am proud I am a free man. Second, I am proud I am an American. Third, I am proud I am a public servant. This may be a little dangerous to say to some of you, but, fourth, I am proud to be a Democrat! But—in that order!"

We do not have any corner on patriotism. People who differ with us on party principles love their country just as much as we do and have fought for it just as much as we have and have bled for it just as much as we have. So let's try to avoid these deep divisions that personalities create.

Let's try to keep our eye on the big thing. We are the greatest nation in the world—and we have so much to preserve and so much to protect.

We are going to preserve it and we are going to protect it.

We are going to develop it and we are going to utilize it.

We are going to leave this place a better place than we found it. —LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

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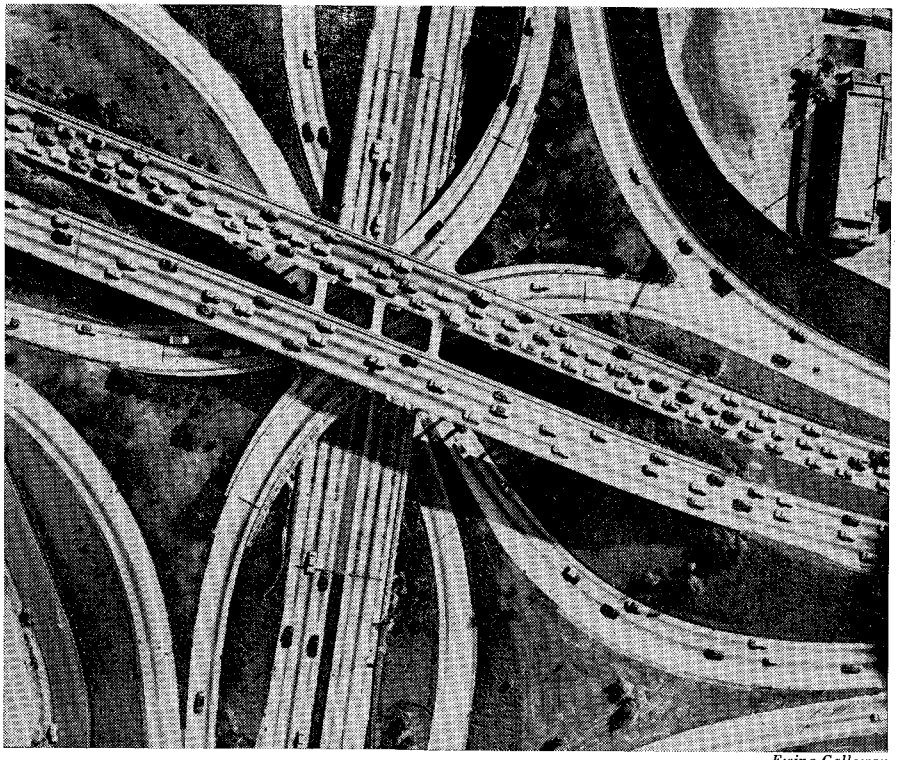
Can the State Live on Crumbs?

What happens when Washington cuts into the pie of local revenue



—*Ewing Galloway.*

California freeways—state-federal teamwork in action.

By JOHN ANDERSON

THE CHOICES which Americans must make over the next two or three years concerning the critical question of federal-state fiscal relations will greatly affect the future nature of the federal system. The best way to begin a consideration of federal and state fiscal relations is to sort out the salient facts about federal, state, and local governmental revenues and expenditures. Some of these facts are startling and all of them have serious implications for the future. (By "serious" I do not necessarily mean "discouraging.") But first, some facts and figures:

1. Amazing as it may sound to some, federal expenditure needs are leveling off while at the same time state and local expenditures are continuing to skyrocket.

2. By 1970 or thereabouts, barring drastic changes in the international situation, annual state and local expenditures will have passed total federal expenditures, including those for defense and foreign aid. In the fiscal year 1963 federal expenditures for civilian government totaled about $30 billion, in comparison to state and local outlays of $64 billion. I would guess that by 1971 state and local expenditures will have reached $120 billion, compared with a federal budget of $110-$115 billion by that time.

3. State and local government employment is rising steeply. These governments now have about 7,500,000 employees, compared with 2,500,000 federal employees.

4. During the past decade state and local outlays grew more than 8 per cent annually, or double the growth rate of the national income.

5. During the past decade state and local governments have had to increase tax rates repeatedly. At the federal level there have been two large tax cuts, in 1954 and 1964, with talk of more good things to come.

6. State and local debt increased by 170 per cent from 1952 to 1962, with over $80 billion outstanding at the end of the period.

7. The most costly functions at the state and local level have been and will continue to be those of education, roads, health, and welfare.

8. Taxes by all governments took about 25 per cent of the gross national product in 1952, and the same proportion a decade later. However, the share taken by the state and local government continues to rise and the federal share continues to decline.

9. In round figures, the state-local tax take is made up of 45 per cent property taxes; 12 per cent income taxes (most of which are only mildly graduated, if at all); 15 per cent general sales taxes; 13 per cent gasoline and motor vehicle taxes; and 15 per cent miscellaneous, such as cigarette, liquor, and inheritance taxes.

10. Federal grants-in-aid continue to grow apace in both magnitude and variety. This aid tripled between the years 1952 and 1962. It now stands at $11 billion. The last Congress alone added between ten and thirty new grant programs, depending on what one calls a separate program category.

11. The rate of "tax mortality" among state and local political leaders is very high. A governor or mayor must raise taxes in order to meet his increasing responsibilities—but he is often voted out of office for doing so. Were he to choose to cut services rather than to raise taxes, he would also be likely to get kicked out—so he usually tries to raise taxes at the beginning rather than the middle of his term. Also, we are told continually that any further increases in state and local taxes will drive industry out of the state or discourage new industry from coming in. In other words, political and economic pressures at the state and local levels are against tax increases.

12. We are told that federal revenues are likely to outstrip expenditure needs over the next few years, with a budgetary surplus the likely result unless new domestic spending programs are undertaken by the federal government or unless the federal debt is reduced.

THESE twelve basic facts generally tell where we have been, where we are now, and where we are tending in federal-state fiscal relations. The essence of what they tell us is this:

The responsibilities for nonmilitary public services in government over the next few years are going to fall largely on state and local levels of governments. However, state and local revenue sys-

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tems are much less responsive to economic growth than is the federal revenue system. Consequently, state and local expenditure needs are going to outstrip revenues at current rates, while it appears that at the federal-level revenue at current rates is going to outstrip expenditure needs. The big question before us is: "Which of several alternate courses should be taken?"

An obvious possibility is to utilize judiciously any federal budgetary surpluses for reductions in the debt or reductions in tax rates, according to the economic outlook at the time. It may be the result of an outdated Puritan ethic even to consider the reduction of debt. But I think we would all agree that, in years of full employment and firm or rising prices, an application of federal surpluses to debt retirement would not be unduly deflationary.

On the other hand, to confine the use of federal surpluses solely to federal tax reductions or to debt retirement is objected to on two grounds. First, it does nothing in a direct sense to ease the pinch on state and local governments. Second, if federal tax rates are steadily reduced, and state and local taxes continue to increase, the result will be increased burdens upon property and consumption taxes, and lessened burdens on income taxes.

A second possibility is to utilize federal surpluses for the initiation of some new and large federal grant-in-aid programs in areas having a strong element of national interest. Some of the obvious fields would be education, highways, and mental health. It is not difficult to dredge up several other fields of state and local activity in which federal financial assistance would be welcome.

However, this approach meets with some strong objections. In the first place, federal aid in these new fields would inevitably be accompanied by federal controls. Our existing federal aid programs are accompanied by controls. New ones would be, too. In the second place, at federal, state, and local levels we are approaching the limits of manageability in the variety and complexity of federal grant programs. We can add new ones, but getting rid of old ones is practically impossible.

As the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has observed, "there is nothing so permanent as a temporary grant-in-aid." Many thoughtful people are coming to the conclusion that there must be simpler and better ways of making future federal funds available to the states.

A third possibility is to initiate the concept of an unconditional federal grant to the states—often referred to as a "block grant." The difficulty with this approach in the past has been that its advocates have coupled it with simultaneous elimination of present federal grants. In addition to other arguments against such an approach, it is not feasible from a political standpoint. It would be hard enough to get Congress to agree with the concept of an "unconditional" grant; it would be impossible to get it to carry on a corollary fight with all of the interest groups that are involved in the existing program grants.

In our new situation of projected federal surpluses, however, the possibility is advanced of initiating a block grant to the states to be used for virtually any purpose except highways and with no matching or other strings attached, leaving undisturbed the existing pattern of federal grants in the various program areas. This approach has the advantage of administrative simplicity and a transfer of federal funds to the states without accompanying controls. Furthermore, to the extent desired, the distribution of such a grant could be keyed to the fiscal capacity of the various states so that any desired degree of equalization between low- and high-income states could be accomplished. This general approach seems to be the one most favored by the Administration.

THE principal argument against this approach is the alleged lack of political feasibility. Specifically, how could one persuade Congress to turn loose billions of dollars of federal funds each year, without any specifications as to their use by the recipient states?

Another argument is advanced against this type of approach—namely that local governments, as well as state governments, should receive unconditional federal grants and that the sharing of these funds between state and local governments should not be left to the discretion of the individual state. However, as a governor, I cannot subscribe to this argument.

In the first place, the local governments are subdivisions of the state and operate under the provisions of state constitutions and statutes. Secondly, the division of responsibilities and, consequently, fiscal burdens between state and local governments varies from state to state. Thirdly, no yardstick exists by which federal funds could be distributed directly to localities on anything other than a per capita basis, because we have no measures by which to compare fiscal capacities of local government on a nationwide basis. Finally, the reapportionment of state legislatures on the basis of one man, one vote, may relieve some of the fears that the federal funds would be disproportionately divided.

A fourth possibility would be to ease the state-local tax bind by means of a credit against the federal personal income tax for state and local taxes paid. Such a credit would necessarily be less

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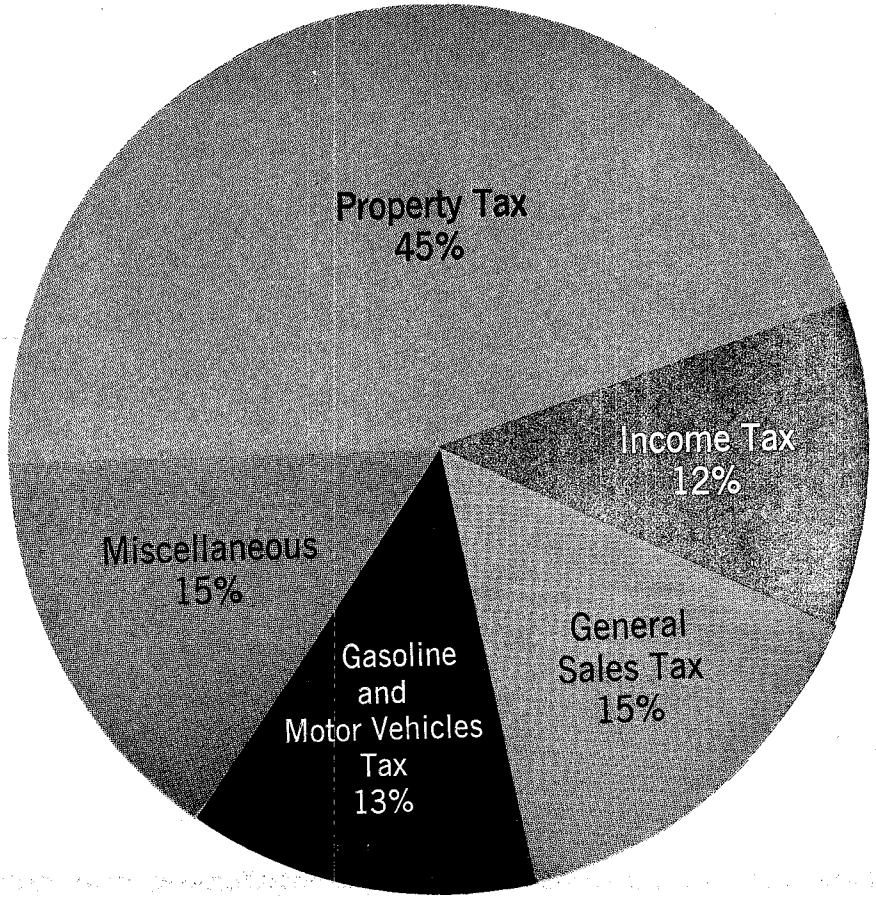

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Who Should Get How Much?

By FRAZAR B. WILDE

A REALISTIC tax structure is, I am convinced, the greatest single element in the economic success of a free-market society. There was, of course, a primitive era when the purpose of federal taxes was confined almost entirely to raising the revenue for basic, commonly accepted national needs, chiefly defense. The idea of consciously using the fiscal apparatus to influence the economy through the amount, form, and use of taxes was conspicuous by its absence. Today, however, the use of fiscal policy to influence economic activity and to try to stabilize it has reached a considerable degree of acceptance by many thoughtful scholars and to an even larger extent by the party in power.

A major new dimension in the problem of national government is the relatively rapid growth of state and local government expenditures and the difficulty of finding tax resources easily available to these governments. This problem has led to an unofficial proposal that a portion of the federal tax collection be returned to the states, without using the historical and current restraint of grants-in-aid or loans. Such a proposal, if made officially, will generate much debate and controversy.

There is strong evidence in this country that any political body will, if possible, seek a source of revenue from a higher political group, whether absolutely needed or not. States, for example, are constantly being asked for more aid by their local units. And soon after this new federal tax refund idea was broached, the mayor of one of our largest cities was reported to be organizing a "march on Washington" to seek billions of dollars. Heretofore, his city had made repeated marches on its state capital for the same purpose.

The slowing down of the increase in federal expenditures is giving us the opportunity to move toward a balanced budget and, in proper sequence, to change the tax structure in such a way that it will be most constructive for the country as a whole. It now seems possible to make a rational attempt to develop a tax structure that will impose the smallest burden on the dynamic elements of our economy. But even among men of good will who are objective and knowledgeable in the tax field, there is no consensus on the ideal structure. Important changes of view are, however, occurring. For example, the tacit acceptance of the proposition that progressive taxation is an unchangeable way of life is notably diminishing. Moreover, the heavy reliance on direct taxation for support of the federal budget is increasingly being challenged as a result of growing evidence that direct taxes on production, either on corporations or individuals, may be retarding the forward thrust of the economy. There is at least a prospect that reducing those taxes that retard productivity, or at least do not encourage it, may provide higher living standards and greater equity than progression and direct taxation.

Against this background it may be useful to mention the principal tax recommendations that are being debated today:

1. Reduction of taxes on personal income—lowering the ceiling from 70 per cent to perhaps not more than 50 per cent.

2. Reduction of taxes on corporations from the maximum of 48 per cent set for next year down to 40 per cent.

3. Reduction (or, preferably, the elimination) of the selective excise taxes in some forty categories that now total more than $4 billion. This would leave intact trust funds collected by the gasoline tax for the federal road program as well as the historic, so-called sumptuary taxes long levied against tobacco products and liquor.

4. Consideration of a new transaction tax, though not at the retail level. The form most commonly discussed and recommended is the "value-added tax." This tax would permit us to accelerate the elimination of selective excises and aid in the reduction of the personal and corporate income tax schedules. It would be useful in improving the nation's world trading position since it could be omitted on exports, as is being done by many foreign countries today.

5. Initiation of a sweeping review of the present tax structure in an attempt to simplify it. This has not been done for many years and it is badly overdue.

6. Initiation of an optional tax (this idea has been proposed by Senator Long) that would simplify the structure and save money for the taxpayers and the government.

7. Restudying of and recommendations for general tax reform in the case of special items that many people feel involve inequitable credits or exemptions.

8. Adoption of a formula by the Congress to make quick changes in tax rates, up or down, for the purpose of economic stabilization under a plan that might be politically practicable. Such changes would be sought in the event of threatened or actual inflation, when the rates would be adjusted upward. A change downward would be called upon to stimulate the economy in the event of a serious deflation. Such changes would be carried out without debate on the basic tax structure and thus they would be made in time to be an effective stabilizer. It would be a percentage change, probably applicable only to corporate and personal income tax. The debate in the House and Senate would be confined to two things: (a) whether any tax change should be made and (b) what the percentage, up or down, should be.

This is a formidable list, and it is not even a complete one. It does strongly suggest, however, that piecemeal changes should be avoided. Furthermore, all tax changes should be delayed until we are nearer to a balanced budget and until the structure as a whole can be thoughtfully reviewed. The changes indicated above should be thoroughly weighed and either adopted, modified, or rejected.

We have no immediate need to change the tax structure because, in my opinion, some of the reasons for changes that were valid a year ago are the very same reasons we do not need, or should not entertain, changes in the tax structure at the present time. Many students of fiscal policy think it is far more important to take the time to make an orderly review of the entire tax system, and many ways have been suggested for conducting this orderly review, both in and out of Congress. The national consensus needed for action will probably require work on several fronts at the same time.

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The Use and Abuse of Economic Policy

By ALLAN SPROUL

THE STOOL we sit on to get the most milk out of the economic cow must have three legs if it is to stand up. If it doesn't have three legs—appropriate monetary, fiscal, and wage-price policies—we are going to have difficulty keeping our balance, the cow will have nervous tremors from time to time, and milk production will suffer. This, of course, is the position taken by the Commission on Money and Credit that CED sponsored in 1958. Similar attacks on the same general problem, not always reaching similar conclusions, have occupied commissions in other English-speaking countries with politico-economic systems not too different from ours. There were the Committee on the Working of the Monetary System in Great Britain (the Radcliffe Committee), which published the results of its labors in 1959, and more recently the Royal Canadian Commission on Banking and Finance, which published its report in the spring of 1964. And, currently, a committee of Congress is carrying on hearings with the general theme "The Federal Reserve System After Fifty Years," but with the underpinning of some specific legislative proposals that appear to represent chiefly isolated ideas rather than a development of the general theme. I mention these studies and reports not because I am going to summarize their findings, but to emphasize that, if you really want to dig into the subject, there is no lack of literature available.

What is supposed to be the role of monetary policy? Traditionally, it was supposed to be a principal means of government intervention in a predominantly private-enterprise economy to promote economic stability with particular emphasis on stability of the price level and on maintaining the international value of the currency unit. This traditional role has come to be interpreted in the United States, particularly since the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, as the promotion of maximum production, employment, and income; sustained and vigorous economic growth; and over-all price stability. Also, with the emergence of our serious balance-of-payments difficulties in recent years, the preservation of the international value of the dollar has been resurrected as a principal task of monetary policy. Clearly, this is quite a load to carry and we have learned that there are conflicts in seeking all of these objectives at the same time, particularly if monetary policy is not geared to fiscal policy and if a workable wage-price policy is hard to come by.

One prescription for relieving monetary policy of direct responsibility for moderating short-run economic fluctuations involving all of these objectives is to redefine its purpose as being the provision of a stable, long-run monetary environment which, it is suggested, will contribute most effectively both to short-run stabilization and long-run growth, while, at the same time, removing the hazards of discretionary action. This prescription is often accompanied by "might have been" demonstrations, based on individual theories and "after the fact" statistics, to prove that discretionary monetary policy, as exemplified by the performance of the Federal Reserve System during its first fifty years, has had a pretty bad record. I cannot accept this blanket indictment.

My response is to attack the prescription because I do not think it is realistic in an economic world inhabited by human beings without perfect foresight.

Two principal means of filling the prescription have been brought forward in recent years. The Radcliffe Committee in Great Britain, although expressing the belief that there is no single objective by which all monetary policy can be conditioned, came to the conclusion that monetary action works upon total demand by altering the liquidity position of financial institutions, business firms, and individuals, and the committee insisted "upon the structure of interest rates, rather than some notions of the money supply, as the centerpiece of monetary action." These pronouncements gave encouragement to those who, searching for a formula for maintaining a stable, long-term monetary environment, have proposed that the unchanging goal of monetary policy should be the stabilization of long-term interest rates at a level appropriate to long-run balance of savings and investment at high employment. If that sounds to you more like a restatement of a problem than its solution, I agree with you.

Another group, which pays no heed to the Radcliffe Committee's dismissal of "notions of the money supply," asserts that the centerpiece of monetary policy should be to see to it that the supply grows at a constant rate week by week and month by month that is consistent with the long-run rate of growth of the whole economy and the demand for money, usually estimated as being between 3 per cent and 5 per cent per annum.

My reaction to this doctrinal dispute is to assert that the single-formula approach to a monetary policy is not a realistic one in a world in which we are not too sure of what is happening at the moment and quite uncertain about what may happen in the future. To give some official backing to my personal opinion, I am in agreement with the Canadian Royal Commission that found that "despite the lags, uncertainties, and limitations of discretionary monetary policy, it can improve our economic performance." And I am in agreement with their finding "that automatic or mechanical guides are inadequate to cope with constantly changing economic situations and political preferences." In the more picturesque words of Paul Samuelson, "a definitive mechanism that is to run forever after, by itself, involves a single act of discretion which transcends, both in its arrogance and its capacity for potential harm, any repeated acts of foolish discretion that can be imagined."

WHERE does this dismissal of the automatic formula leave us? It leaves us in the real world with an active discretionary monetary policy, primarily concerned with the promotion of over-all price stability and the international value of the dollar, both of which it believes to be essential to sustained economic growth, but also necessarily concerned with the promotion of maximum employment of our resources, which is a prerequisite to high-level production and purchasing power.

To say that because monetary policy seeks to pay special attention to current developments in the money and capital markets it therefore has a blind eye for the matters of maximum production and income and long-term economic growth is merely a semantic quibble. It is through these markets that monetary policy exercises its pervasive influence upon the whole range of economic activity. And in the present state of our knowledge of what the future may hold, we had better rely on the truism that the long run is a succession of short runs. If a monetary authority is well

(*Continued on page* 78)

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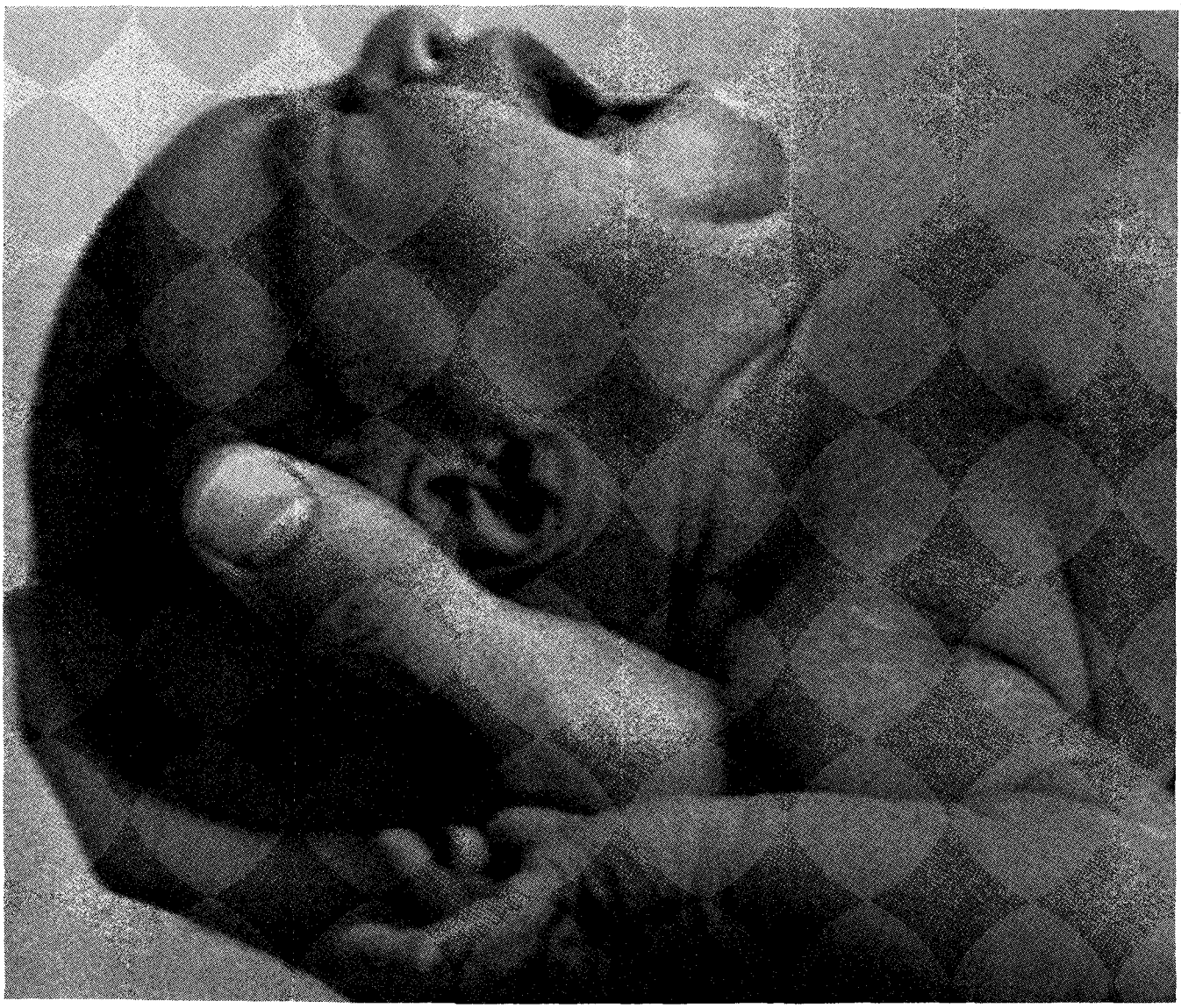

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Washington, D.C.	17.9 (2)	12.8 (1)	9
San Francisco-Oakland	11.7 (3)	7.2 (3)	6
Chicago	9.8 (4)	4.5 (8)	3
New York	9.8 (5)	5.5 (5)	1
Los Angeles-Long Beach	(All one county)	8.0 (2)	2

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census mid-1963 estimates

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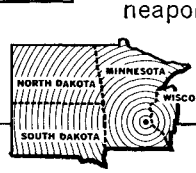

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SR's BUSINESSMAN OF THE YEAR

DAVID ROCKEFELLER

Creative Banker, Champion of Change

IN THE United States today the past is being overwhelmed by the future more rapidly than ever before in history. The same is true of much of the rest of the world, whether free or Communist. The scale and speed of this change are hard to comprehend, but if mankind is divided into the party of memory and the party of hope, as Emerson said, then it must be very clear that this is no longer an age when our massive free-enterprise economy can be managed by backward-yearning instead of forward-learning business leaders.

It is more urgent than ever that U.S. businessmen respond creatively to the challenge of escalating change, because their response will not only determine the continued prosperity of the nation—as this issue of *Saturday Review* demonstrates—but will also condition the quality of our society.

Progress may be an unending journey, but it is a journey on which this nation has consciously embarked and for which a new partnership has been emerging in this country among business, labor, and government. Since the geography of change is not confined to our shores, we also have colleagues and competitors on this journey into the future from every corner of the globe.

It is this historic flux that has convinced *Saturday Review* that modern U.S. executives must serve the public interest as an indivisible part of their private corporate interest. Out of this conviction *SR* established the annual Businessman of the Year award. The 1965 citation goes to David Rockefeller, president and chairman of the executive committee of the board of directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the nation's second largest bank, with assets of nearly $11 billion.

The first Rockefeller since his grandfather, John D., Sr., to be in the mainstream of American commerce, David Rockefeller is a spokesman for creativity in business management and for the measurable benefits of enlightened public service. In fact, in public speeches and private conversation he fulfils an important function as a teacher, although he probably would be the first to deny such a role. A graduate of Harvard, with an advanced degree from the London School of Economics and a Ph.D. in economics from Chicago, he is one of very few top executives with the credentials for university teaching.

Because the forty-nine-year-old executive is a powerful and successful doer in the hard, competitive world of high finance, Mr. Rockefeller commands the kind of respect from his peers that enables him to serve as a reasonable champion of change.

AS a reasoned challenger of the status quo, Mr. Rockefeller has stated his personal views this way:

"The central challenge of this dangerous decade is the revolutionary speed of economic, social, political, scientific, and military change. Every nation is caught up in it. Western Europe is renouncing the habits and prejudices of a thousand years to cope with it. . . .

"Our very vocabulary is being recast by the accelerating sweep of scientific and technological change. Automation, atomic reactors, earth and solar satellites, jet airliners, antibiotics—all these would be alien words to a hermit emerging from a World War II refuge.

"Nowhere is the ferment of change more impressive than in the role of business in our society. Seventy-five years ago it was not clear whether American business might someday fulfil Karl Marx's passionate prophecies about a capitalist system of tightly held power and privilege. But business in America has evolved in a very different direction from that which Marx anticipated.

"There has occurred a transformation so swift in pace and so profound in social, geographical, cultural, and economic implications that it has outstripped the perception of most historians, commentators, and businessmen themselves."

Progress, change, challenge, creativity, innovation, and comparable concepts appear regularly in Mr. Rockefeller's speeches and conversation. He is especially sensitive to the technological tools that science is placing in the hands of modern executives to relieve them from much of the quantitative routine of their tasks and release them for its qualitative, human aspects. Chase Manhattan under Mr. Rockefeller—who refers to innovators as "the prime movers in a capitalist society"—has certainly become one of the most completely automated banks in the world. It has headquarters in an aluminum-and-glass sheath sixty stories high in downtown Manhattan, the largest banking structure ever built. More than $2 billion a day speeds through its centralized automated check-processing system, serving more than 1,500,000 customers and 3,900 domestic correspondent banks through 120 offices in metropolitan New York and twenty-nine branches overseas. A vast array of computers is also used to assimilate, quantify, and evaluate data of the most advanced economic and technical nature as a basic part of the decision-making process at Chase Manhattan.

The unstereotyped cast of this banker's mind comes through in informal discussion in his spacious modern office, whose approaches and anterooms on the seventeenth floor at No. 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza comprise a veritable gallery of primitive and modern sculpture and painting. His relaxed, attentive de-

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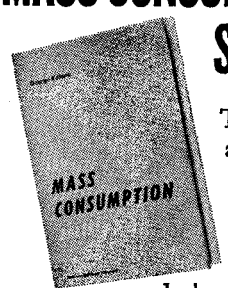

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meanor is simply a friendly window through which to observe a banker-philosopher ruminating on this kind of concept:

"I think of creative banking not as an occasional novel idea or inspirational flash, but as a continuing attitude of mind that constantly seeks more imaginative and effective ways of accommodating the financial requirements of our economy, and of putting money to work for economic growth in the city, across the nation, around the world.

"I think of creative banking as a consciously cultivated disposition to look for the opportunities of progress rather than lament their cost.

"I think of creative banking as a willingness to re-examine all segments of our business in the light of the changing technology of banking, but as an unwillingness to be fettered by arbitrary rules and routines."

MR. ROCKEFELLER has listed five attributes of creative management which he thinks apply not only to banking but to business enterprise in general:

Flexibility—"a willingness to reappraise continually all facets of business with an eye to upgrading performance." As an example, he noted the extent to which banks have torn down the façade of austerity since World War II in their search for individual customers, and now spend $200 million a year—Chase Manhattan will spend $3 million itself this year—in advertising planned to appeal to the general public.

Receptivity—"a willingness to evaluate without prejudice any new technological developments that may enhance management efficiency."

Optimism—"a disposition to emphasize the opportunities rather than the problems in any management situation."

Courage—"a willingness to risk mistakes in the pursuit of growth and progress."

Social responsibility—"the responsibility for developing a strong sense of participation in community life."

It was especially gratifying to have Mr. Rockefeller emphasize this point because it is a basic factor in *SR*'s own citation. On the subject of such responsibility he has said, "If a business enterprise is to achieve long-range profitability, it must take account of certain corporate citizenship responsibilities that have no direct bearing on profits. Foremost among these is the responsibility to get across to the layman 'what it is that business does, can do, and should do.' Another is to help develop and maintain a favorable economic and political environment in which all businesses can prosper. Still another is to support with financial contributions and personal participation those organizations genuinely concerned with fundamental problems of the community."

SR Businessmen of the Year Previous Winners

1964—George H. Love
1963—Frederick R. Kappel
1962—Charles H. Percy
1961—Dr. Frank Stanton
1960—Ralph J. Cordiner
1959—George Romney
1958—Devereux C. Josephs
1957—Neil H. McElroy
1956—Henry Ford II

One prime example is the leadership Mr. Rockefeller has given over the past eight years to the project to halt the physical and economic deterioration of Manhattan's financial district. His initiative led to the formation of the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association, Inc., of which he is chairman. Through the work of this organization some thirty-four commercial buildings, including Chase Manhattan's own skyscraper, have been completed or started in the area, assessed valuation has climbed by more than $350 million, 16,000,000 square feet of office buildings have been modernized and renovated, a $400 million World Trade Center has been put in motion, a $60,000,000, fifty-acre civic center is being planned to rehabilitate the blighted City Hall area, more than 2,000 middle-income apartments are being planned in the slum area around Brooklyn Bridge, a heliport has been put in operation, and a variety of steps have been taken to ease the congested street traffic that has been slowly strangling the area. Public and private interests are expected to invest another $2 billion in improvements and expansion over the next twenty-five years.

As one of the five Rockefeller brothers helping administer the vast philanthropic enterprises of the family, David Rockefeller is, of course, no stranger to public service. He has also devoted much time, thought, and energy to the affairs of the Rockefeller Institute, probably the most remarkable graduate school of medicine and biological research in the world, and to the current development of the Museum of Modern Art, of which he is chairman.

With regard to the accelerating trend of U.S. business to become international in scope, he points out that direct investment abroad by U.S. corporations has nearly tripled in the past decade, and now runs to over $35 billion. These foreign subsidiaries produce and sell goods valued at more than $25 billion a year. Mr. Rockefeller says, "The increasingly international character of

(*Continued on page* 58)

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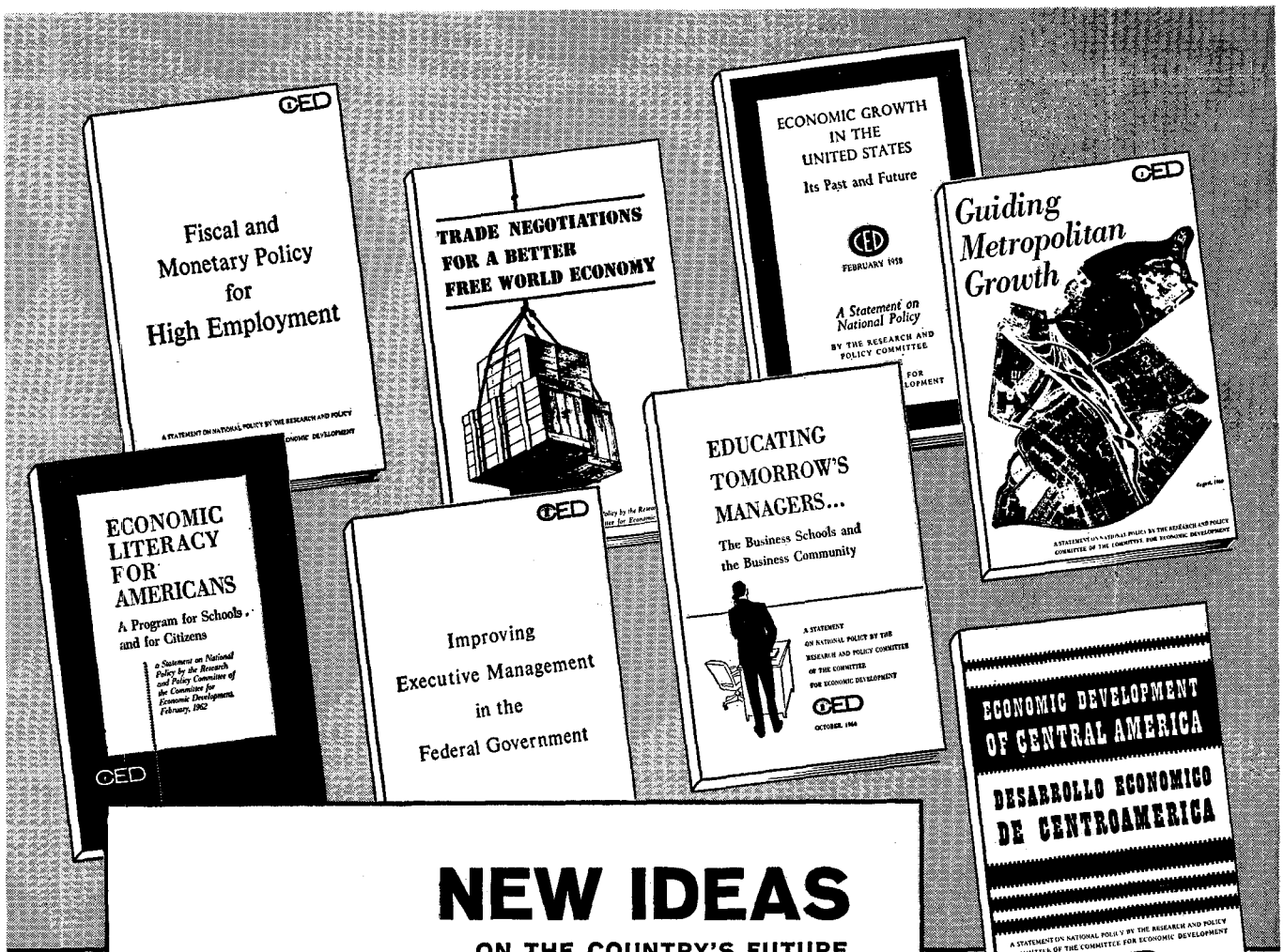
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The Prosperity Gap

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The author of the following guest editorial, written especially for this annual business issue of SR, is chairman of the board of the Xerox Corporation. He was a founder of the International Executive Service Corps, a private group that, in cooperation with the federal government, provides executive manpower for developing countries.*

THE REAL challenge of our prosperity is not just how to keep it, but how to use it. The heart of the problem is, in John Gardner's phrase, "how to stay awake on a full stomach."

Exactly what does our prosperity mean —not in financial or statistical terms, but in human terms? For most Americans it stands for a comfortable income and an unprecedented standard of living. Yet within our affluence there are 10,000,000 families living on less than $60 a week and trapped in a cycle of poor housing, inferior education, inadequate jobs. And our prosperity as a nation also means a further widening of the tragic gap that separates us from the hundreds of millions of "have-nots" of the world.

Obviously, therefore, the definition of prosperity in a world as heavily marked by poverty as by progress is bound to be a paradox, and prosperity becomes no more or less than the perspective from which it is viewed.

From what perspective should American business view it?

Some people will be surprised that American business even asks itself such a question. For in the eyes of many around the world—and some here at home—the American businessman is a myopic jingoist still married to the axioms of Adam Smith and seeking only power for himself and gain for his business. What has been obscured by such distorted impressions and caricatures is that business is achieving in this country what has seldom been achieved elsewhere: a truly effective working relationship with government. The result has been a larger society of great social, cultural, and educational advances. The fact is that only through such cooperation have we been able to establish and nurture institutions such as the Community Chest, the Red Cross, our many universities and colleges, symphony orchestras, art galleries, and other cultural hallmarks of our society, as well as our large medical research programs and relief efforts, both here and abroad.

I suggest that the time and the opportunity are now right to expand this relationship still further in ways that will make our prosperity even more meaningful and, at the same time, reveal the true face of American business.

The "War on Poverty" program has recently been launched by the federal government. It is designed to help the poor help themselves. A number of businessmen have been viewing the program with misgivings and questions —and understandably so. For admittedly it is to a large extent only a codification of existing projects and will hardly mean a cure for the disease of poverty. But what it represents is of direct concern to business: a commitment by the government to help develop the economic potential of the poor, rather than just maintain them with "handouts."

If the anti-poverty program is to succeed, it must have the cooperation and active participation of American business and industry. For the ultimate objective will be jobs, and at stake is the future of millions of Americans. Thus one of the key challenges that now confront American business is to work with government in the reclamation of those on the slag heap of our society and the effort to turn them into contributing citizens. It is a challenge business must accept, if for no other reason than because we have long regarded the development of human resources as an integral part of the business of American business.

By the same token, the American businessman must look at his enterprise from the perspective of countless human beings in the world who are no longer thousands of miles away but just past the runway's edge. Whether he likes it or not, he recognizes that the future of his own business is inextricably and inevitably bound up with what is going on in places like Vietnam, Laos, and the Congo. He recognizes that what will happen to the unseen millions who live in destitution and squalor around the earth will in a very real sense determine what will happen to us.

THE businessman's role in the development of sound international economic programs is, therefore, more important today than ever. He is not only called upon to participate in evolving sound trade policies, but also to help in the creation and implementation of foreign aid programs. Economic growth of the developing nations has become a commercial necessity as well as a wise and practical investment in our own security. With government today seeking more and more help from private enterprise in international trade and aid programs, the business community has a growing opportunity and responsibility to spread truth more quickly and to advance civilization itself more effectively.

Meeting the challenge of prosperity can therefore mean far more than the end of prevalent myths about American businessmen. It can also mean the reinspiration and reinforcement of a partnership between business and government in which each is acutely aware of its obligation to the other and both are aware of their joint obligations to people everywhere. It offers the opportunity to prove that we know not only how to achieve prosperity but also how to use it effectively in order to help build the kind of world we want—one of freedom and dignity for all men.

—SOL M. LINOWITZ.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Always on Sunday

THE LOWLY BAGEL, how it has risen! Practically half a Sutton article [*SR*, Nov. 21] devoted to it, which, in turn, elicits letters to the editor! Perforce I must add my comments.

The origins of that threat-to-all-dentures morsel, the bagel, are unimportant. What is intriguing is the interest the hard roll engenders in enthusasiast and uninitiate alike. In 1948, when I was a fledgling writer on Madison Avenue, a friend came up with a bagel idea. For 65 cents he would deliver to your door every Sunday morning a packet containing lox, bagels, and cream cheese (traditional Sunday breakfast for many families in Jewish neighborhoods of New York). His deliveries were made anywhere in the city by a crew of disabled World War II veterans.

Enthralled with the idea, I took it to Clementine Paddleford, who blessed the enterprise with a glowing article in the *Herald Tribune*. The result: thousands of telephone calls clamoring for delivery.

Further, a full-page picture in the now defunct magazine *Pic* showed my friends, on a Sunday morning, pouring cascades of fresh bagels onto assembly tables prior to filling orders. That picture triggered the memory of a rabbi in Puerto Rico who wired us to send the delicacy Air Express.

All of which proves that bagel aficionados go to rare lengths to obtain that tidbit referred to by *SR* as a cement-like roll.

LILLIAN PIERSON COHEN.
Gloversville, N.Y.

I AM AMAZED. I thought all readers of *SR* were, if not absolute gourmets, at least sufficiently cosmopolitan in their dining habits to know what a simple little bagel is. Or has Lucius M. Lamar, whose letter appeared in the December 12 issue, spent his life supping so loftily that the hot dog and the hamburger are similarly unknown to him?

Your description of the bagel, while apt, is wholly inadequate. It falls far short of properly conveying to Mr. Lamar the necessary facts regarding the additional ingredients mandatory toward the full and pleasurable savoring of this Sunday-morning breakfast delight. To enlighten Mr. Lamar, somebody should have actually sent a bagel along to him. With, maybe, some lox and cream cheese.

Better yet, invite him to come North and try one.

DAN WALLACK.
New York, N.Y.

Man with a Country

MY LATE FATHER, Hendrik Willem van Loon, would have been overwhelmingly flattered! At the same time, his appreciation of life's and death's little ironies would have evoked a rueful smile at seeing himself referred to as a "native American" in David Dempsey's review of the Dodd, Mead *Anniversary Anthology* [*SR*, Dec. 12].

Hendrik Willem was born in Rotterdam, Holland, and came to this country, age twenty, in 1902. Though he studied at Cornell and Harvard and married a Bostonian (my mother), both my brother and I were born as Dutch citizens in Europe. Hendrik Willem did not come here to live until 1912 and we all attained U.S. citizenship on father's papers in 1919.

In the meantime, Hendrik Willem (who chose to write exclusively in English) had turned out three books, one of which netted him a royalty of $41.58, but (and here again Mr. Dempsey did not do his homework) he was actually "introduced" to the American reading public by Albert Boni and Horace Liveright with *The Story of Mankind* in 1921. Twenty-two years, twenty-nine books, and three more best-sellers later, Dodd, Mead came into the picture with three small biographies for children, the last of which, *Gustavus Vasa*, was published posthumously in 1945.

Since I am writing my father's biography I have these facts at my fingertips, but much of this is a matter of record in *Who's Who*. What you won't find there are the letters written in the last years of father's life in which he hopes that some day he will be able to write "an adequate English" or in which he confesses he came here too late in life to be considered—or to consider himself—an American. He would have been flattered to think that he had made the grade at last. In his name and in his memory may I say thank you, David Dempsey.

GERARD WILLEM VAN LOON.
New York, N.Y.

"I've been in the rat race for six years now, Mr. Griswold, and I have a right to know—who's ahead?"

A World Language?

HAROLD TAYLOR'S account of how a "recent experiment in global education points the way to a larger community of the intellect" [*SR*, Nov. 14] is a timely article and deseves thoughtful reading. However, in his approach to the international aspects of a world college, Dr. Taylor bypasses the full implication of the language problem. He says: "A full-scale world college . . . would of course have to deal with the language problem, probably in the manner of the United Nations, with English and French as working languages, and simultaneous translations for others (a translation of the world's literature into all languages would be an essential component of the humanities curriculum)." With some 2,600 languages in the world, a translation of the world's literature into *all* languages is manifestly an impossibility. As for English and French as working languages, and simultaneous translations for others, this form of communication is showing signs of questionable usefulness on the international scene. There are now many international organizations in which Esperanto is the only official language in use. High schools and colleges are teaching the language throughout the world and it is currently being taught at the United Nations. Esperanto is also being broadcast over the Voice of America. . . .

In science and electronics, art, music and religion, commerce, international politics, and world affairs, Esperanto is completely ready and adequate. In expressing fine shades of meaning in both prose and poetry, Esperanto ranks with the national languages, and thus could open the door to a more complete atmosphere of international cooperation.

ELWYN C. POLLOCK.
Morongo Valley, Calif.

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Crossing Lines

LEROI JONES's two new plays confirm the impression this thirty-year-old playwright made last season with his *Dutchman* and *The Baptism*. Mr. Jones is less an astute dramatic craftsman than he is a Negro creatively expressing his portion of a total anger that his race has had to suppress in the centuries since the first slave-owner committed an injustice on the grounds that the Negro was subhuman. His plays are poetic and prophetic views of the total situation by one individual human being in search of a vital identity.

The Toilet, written in 1961 (before *Dutchman*), is deliberately as unrelievedly obscene a play as Mr. Jones can make it. Against the smelly and profane background of urinals and scrawled-upon lavatory walls we watch a bunch of Negro high school students as they demonstrate the insensitivity, the foul language, and the exercise of gratuitous violence one finds among groups of boys attempting to maintain tough-guy status and a supermasculine virility. Amid all this, the necessity has arisen for a washroom fight between a white boy and a Negro honor student to whom he has written a homosexual love letter. The action is brutal, an example of how society can force people to behave at their worst. But if Mr. Jones deplores this, he also recognizes its essential reality as he seems to present the white boy's extreme pain and humiliation as being somehow inherent in his attempt to reach across the battle lines of moral and racial taboo. Furthermore, his tender ending tells us that only as two non-group-associated individuals can their genuine feelings be shared.

Director Leo Garen has staged the play beautifully and unevasively. Larry Rivers has constructed a realistic men's room, complete with urinals, on the small St. Marks Playhouse stage. And the performances are most convincing. Where the play has difficulty is in its violence, which goes on much longer than necessary to make its dramatic point (although not as long as did the Living Theater's *The Brig*) and its deliberately redundant use of the sort of unimaginative obscene vocabulary adolescent boys use to show that they are one of the gang. Because of this unpleasantness many will walk out. Those who stay are not likely to feel sufficiently rewarded with esthetic or intellectual gratifications. Yet they will have experienced a vivid and indelible work of art.

The second play, *The Slave*, written in 1962 (after *Dutchman*), is also violent and laced with strong language. In it Mr. Jones considers the terrifying possible outcome of the current racial struggle. His prologue is spoken by an elderly Negro field slave who uses groping, elliptical phrases to paint the enormous difficulty of finding a tenable position to take toward this disgraceful aspect of our history and who seems to be a proud but bitter victim of its resolution. That resolution is ostensibly a racial uprising at some future date, and the play begins during this conflict as the old slave becomes forty-year-old Walker Vessels, leader of the Negro forces. He has crossed the battle lines to visit his white ex-wife, now remarried to a liberal professor, and his two daughters whom she took with her. Since these children are considered Negro, he proposes to take them with him by force so that they won't grow up "freakish mulattoes in a world where their father is some evil black thing they can't remember."

There ensues a long argument about Walker's past alienation of his white friends as he became more deeply involved in racist activity, and about the irrationality and futility of his murderous cause. While Walker admits all this, he challenges the white liberals with "What *else* you got?" and accuses the liberal of failure to do anything concrete to avoid this catastrophe and of backing away from reality too many times. He reveals that what made him angriest was the thought of his ex-wife with her "weak as water" intellectual husband, feeling secure, good, compassionate, and right as they looked upon Walker with pity. The play ends with violence and death. But surviving the bloodshed are Walker's daughters, who perhaps symbolize the hope for a fully miscegenated and therefore nondiscriminatory society. Also existing is Walker, now transformed into the slave of the prologue. This could be interpreted as a prophecy that after destroying Western society's romantic illusions about the nature of its idealism, the radical Negro revolt will be defeated, leaving behind the slave "goin' down slow" as a specter of America's ineradicable injustice to the Negro.

Again the performances are excellent, with Al Freeman, Jr., as Walker, Nan Martin as his ex-wife, and Jerome Raphael as the professor. But their decision to present these characters naturalistically, with emphasis on the urgency of their immediate personal predicament, does not help make clear the involved dialogue, much of which relates to past decisions and unseen events. As it is now, the action of the play seems accidental and its characters are reduced to an armed drunken man and his two very frightened targets. Really to fulfil Mr. Jones's ambitious scope would require that the play's three people come to see their fate as deserved not personally but poetically. For Mr. Jones's prophecy is wanted by no one. It is the poet's view of his most dreaded anxieties about destructive forces we do not like to admit exist.

—HENRY HEWES.

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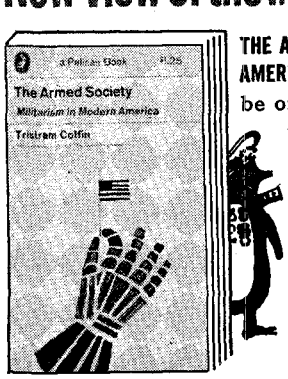

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LITERARY HORIZONS

After the Trial One Man Must Judge

18 The Businessman's Bookshelf
47 Literary Horizons: Granville Hicks reviews "A Covenant with Death," by Stephen Becker
48 The King and His Court, by Pierre Viansson-Ponté
49 How Nations Negotiate, by Fred Charles Iklé
50 Power Transformed, by Robert M. MacIver
51 Our Faces, Our Words, by Lillian Smith
52 SNCC: The New Abolitionists, The Southern Mystique, both by Howard Zinn
53 Hungry Nations, by William and Paul Paddock
54 My Troubles Began, by Paolo Volponi
55 The Corrida at San Feliu, by Paul Scott; Love Lies Bleeding, by Peter Viertel
56 Full Fathom Five, by John Stewart Carter
56 Naked Eye, by Charles Neider
57 SR's Check List of the Week's New Books

NOT EVERYBODY agrees with the sentiment expressed by the Lord Chancellor in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe:*

> The law is the true embodiment
> Of everything that's excellent.
> It has no kind of fault or flaw. . . .

But most people, however fallible they believe it to be, find the law fascinating. Although many trials are extremely dull —I speak as an unlucky juror—a trial can be a highly dramatic affair, and the possibilities have tempted generations of novelists and dramatists. Some of the authors have been lawyers by profession, but more have been bold and fascinated laymen.

I do not see how Stephen Becker can have found time to study law. Born in 1927, he published his first novel in 1951 and now has four to his credit, as well as a biography of Marshall Field III and a study of comic art in America. He has also translated seven books from the French. If legal details in *A Covenant with Death* (Atheneum, $4.50) are accurate, and a lawyer friend of mine assures me that in the main they are, Becker must have done some conscientious homework.

The scene of the novel is "a small southwestern town called Soledad City," and the time is 1923. The first character we meet is Louise Talbot, an ostentatiously sexy young woman who, as the reader immediately guesses, is destined to be the victim. The main character, however, is the narrator, Ben Lewis, a judge at twenty-nine, thanks to accidents of politics and friendship. It is as Old Judge Lewis in 1964 that the narrator tells what happened to Young Judge Lewis in 1923.

Louise Talbot is found strangled in her home, and her husband is charged with murdering her. At the first trial, which is presided over by his older colleague, Judge Hochstadter, Lewis is simply an observer, though an intensely interested one. In the trial, as he describes it, there is the kind of battle between shrewd attorneys that is always exciting to read about. There are surprising developments to keep up the suspense, and the outcome of the trial is uncertain until the jury brings in its verdict.

Meanwhile we are not allowed to assume that Young Judge Lewis has no private life. He lives with his mother, whom he describes in this way:

> Eulalia was my mother, Mrs. Eulalia Morales Lewis, Mexican, handsome in her early fifties, boasting a good mind and innumerable cousins, among them Ignacio, who had a daughter Rafaela, who—no. Later. My mother had been a good wife from 1892 to 1921 to Graeme Lewis, known as Bulldog, who was a good father, the best, long ago a ranger and then county sheriff, a man of great heart who had killed when necessary.

Eulalia has a Rabelaisian streak, and her bawdy remarks enliven the novel. ("Oh, my God," Ben groans at one point. "Why don't you go bake a pie like everybody else's mother?")

Ben's current girl, Rosemary, is a Scandinavian blonde, beautiful and willing and yet somehow alarming, so that he hesitates to marry her. Then there is Rafaela, his distant cousin and a lusty Latin. "She was my south-of-the-border lollipop," he writes, "and the only woman I ever knew with whom love was friendly." His effort to decide which girl to marry occupies his mind when he does not have to fasten it on legal problems.

After the trial of Bryan Talbot, there is a sudden, startling, and remarkably ingenious twist, the details of which had better not be revealed. It is necessary to say that Talbot has to have another trial and young Judge Lewis has to preside over it. Becker gives a moving account of Ben's miseries as he tries to discover the path of justice. His decision, when he is ready to deliver it, after a night in the wilderness, is couched in noble language:

> We have no precedents. We have only our own precarious humanity. Humbly but without hesitation—because a human life is at stake—we must do what courts should never do: we must make the law. Aristotle wrote wisely, "It is best that the laws be so constructed as to leave as little as possible to the decision of those who judge." When they are not so constructed, those who judge fall under an awful responsibility. The law is light, says the Bible; and in a darkness we must make our own light.

As this passage suggests, Becker can write in a dignified fashion when it suits his purpose, but his Ben Lewis ordinarily speaks with sardonic and sometimes bawdy humor. There are some pointed allusions to current events: "President Harding, for example, was moving west, and was cutting grain in Kansas just three days after the American State National Bank of Wichita

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reported a shortage of one million five hundred thousand dollars and one cashier." Becker also endows Lewis with a fondness for unusual words almost as impressive as that displayed by James Gould Cozzens in *By Love Possessed*: gossipaceous, laetificiant, temulating, lallations, boryborygmus. Lewis, moreover, is given to literary allusions: "I tried to remember the passage about alms for oblivion, and could not; my liege, I did deny no prisoners, and could not; oh happy dagger, and could not . . . I had rather be a kitten and cry mew than one of these same metre ballad-mongers; I remembered that; and to pluck bright honor from the pale-faced moon."

In short, it is a sprightly novel, and its selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club is easy to understand. Of Becker's earlier novels I have read only *Juice* (*SR*, Jan. 17, 1959), which seemed to me to make less of a good idea than might have been made. Becker is representative of a type of novelist that raises difficult questions. He wants his books to sell well, and there is not necessarily any harm in that; a highly esteemed novelist once said to me, "I do not write to be unread." Moreover, he knows the devices—I will not say, the tricks—by which an audience can be attracted and held. On the other hand, he is quite serious in his own way, and in *A Covenant with Death*, as in *Juice*, he is writing on themes of considerable importance. He makes no cheap concessions to popular tastes, nor does he, so far as I can tell, play false to his own ideals. Could he, I wonder, have written a really good novel—as opposed to a pretty good one—if he had not had his eye on sales? I'm not sure. At least he has provided agreeable entertainment, and if he also provokes a little thought, so much the better.

—Granville Hicks.

FRAZER YOUNG'S LITERARY CRYPT No. 1118

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 1118 will be found in the next issue.

XBG XNPG XGTWBGN EGCGAEQ

BFQ SPSFRQ TLTFAQX BFQ YOA

SGNQYATR FACRPGAWG.

TRWYXX

Answer to Literary Crypt No. 1117

It is only cold-blooded animals whose bite is poisonous.

—Schopenhauer.

De Gaulle at Home with His Destiny

***The King and His Court**, by Pierre Viansson-Ponté, translated by Elaine P. Halperin (Houghton Mifflin. 250 pp. $5), views ironically de Gaulle the monarch, diplomat, showman, and host. Alexander Werth, author of "Russia at War 1941-45," is writing a biography of de Gaulle for Penguin.*

By ALEXANDER WERTH

—*Pix.*

Charles de Gaulle—"showmanship."

BEING the political editor of *Le Monde* (the "French *New York Times*," as it has been called), forty-four-year-old Pierre Viansson-Ponté is, *ipso facto*, one of the best-informed and most influential writers on French home affairs. He could very well have written a learned treatise on the (at times highly mysterious) inner workings of the Fifth Republic. But this has, with varying success, been done before, and he has achieved something that, in a sense, is much better. He has given us a close-up of de Gaulle in his home surroundings. In the case of any "ordinary" politician, say Sir Alec Douglas-Home, this would be of questionable interest; but de Gaulle is one of the most startling and significant figures of our time, and there is a distinct connection between his private and his political personality.

Much has been written about the earlier de Gaulle: the obscure colonel of 1934 who even then knew what was wrong with the French Army; the author of that strangely prophetic little book, *The Edge of the Sword*, in which—and this was 1932—he outlined his procedure as France's "man of destiny"; and a great deal, of course, has been written about de Gaulle the leader of the Free French during the Second World War, and de Gaulle the liberator in 1944; about de Gaulle, head of the RPF, the abortive near-Fascist movement of 1947-52, and, finally, about the de Gaulle who re-emerged from obscurity in 1958 to revolutionize France's institutions.

Since 1959 he has headed the Fifth Republic, and never before has France, for better or for worse, received greater world-wide publicity. Why? Simply because the personality of de Gaulle has impressed itself immensely not only on the French people, but on the world at large. De Gaulle represents both the strength and weakness of the Fifth Republic—for one of the great questions of the next few years is whether it can continue without him and whether his attempt to groom Prime Minister Georges Pompidou for the succession can ever succeed. De Gaulle has a personal authority that few men in history have had and, unlike Hitler, Mussolini, or Stalin, he rules without ever having had to resort to terror. There is discontent in France, there is opposition to de Gaulle, but, except on the "French-Algerian" extreme Right, there is nowhere any hatred of the man. There are no end of jokes and wisecracks about him, yet he is generally respected, if only because he flatters—even among his political opponents—a deep-seated French nationalism.

The de Gaulle who has been "King" for six years is much less well known than the de Gaulle of the 1940s or 1950s, and Viansson-Ponté's close-up, written in a light, ironical vein, provides a remarkable insight into a number of aspects about him: de Gaulle's treatment of people, de Gaulle's extraordinarily careful showmanship, de Gaulle's diplomatic techniques, and so on. Not that everything is decided upon in advance: When de Gaulle is in a good mood, he can be "witty, relaxed, and charming" with any guest he invites; on other occasions visitors find lunching at Colombey an ordeal; their host says a few words about the weather, then dismisses them with a curt "Thank you for having come." However, on the whole, his gestures are carefully calculated. When de Gaulle goes on trips, either in France or abroad, everything is worked out in advance—the "few words" he will utter in

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a village, the three-to-six-minute talk in a medium-sized town, the twenty-minute speech in a larger town. The last might contain a few sentences of international importance, which would be handed in advance to the press. But de Gaulle's greatest political weapon—and he knows it—is television; he has spared no pains to attain his position as France's foremost video star.

> He takes all the trouble to write out his text, to learn it off by heart (his memory is stupendous), to make the most of his own mannerisms, which, in the end, move, rather than irritate people. He rehearses his TV speeches in front of a mirror and with the help of a tape-recorder. He even took lessons in diction from an eminent actor of the Comédie Française, and knows all the right cadences, and is aware of the gestures and intonations to avoid.

There is much else in Viansson-Ponté's book—some of it uproariously funny. For instance, to accelerate the big banquets in the Elysée Palace preceding gala receptions the army of waiters will snatch away the plates still three-quarters full; no cheese is served because it "smells bad," and no fruit because peeling fruit takes up too much time. At the reception that follows, de Gaulle has some invariably pleasing stock phrases with which he welcomes the guests; the result is that even the writer of horticultural handbooks leaves with the impression that the General is one of his readers. Occasionally de Gaulle grows tired and absent-minded: he once welcomed a man with a sonorous "*Bonjour, madame,*" though "there was nothing in his appearance, dress, or morals that could have justified such a mistake."

There is also an amusing chapter on how de Gaulle dominates Cabinet meetings (frequently nothing happens there, the vital decisions being taken afterwards) and another on Madame de Gaulle. She plays no *direct* political part, yet her influence has been enormous in surrounding the "Court" with an aura of Christian, almost Victorian respectability. Thus she has succeeded in vetoing the appointment to the government of any man who either has been divorced or is known to be unfaithful to his wife; a few divorced people appear at great receptions, but they are rigorously excluded from any more select gatherings at the Elysée.

The second part of *The King and His Court* is a kind of Who's Who among Gaullists past and present. The "past" Gaullists include General Salan, now in jail, and Jacques Soustelle, currently in hiding. Much more interesting are the character sketches of officials like Georges Pompidou, an expert on Racine, jurist, teacher, banker, and gardener, who has been de Gaulle's Prime Minister since 1962.

Diplomacy: A Game of Dares?

How Nations Negotiate, *by Fred Charles Iklé (Harper & Row. 274 pp. $5.95), undertakes to examine the strategy and tactics of a vital diplomatic function with the precision that has often been brought to military science. Richard P. Stebbins deals regularly with international negotiation in his annual survey of U.S. foreign policy.*

By RICHARD P. STEBBINS

FRED CHARLES IKLE of the Harvard Center for International Affairs is quite unmoved by the apocalyptic outcries heard whenever diplomats show signs of gathering around a conference table. As a professional student of diplomacy, he writes primarily for other professionals who know that negotiation is not a short cut to eternity but merely the time-honored method used by governments in trying to "relate conflicting to common interests." Pleading neither for negotiation nor against it, he accepts it as a fact of life and undertakes to examine its strategy and tactics with the same precision that other writers have brought to the study of war.

Such cool analysis of a vital diplomatic function promises an interesting experience to readers patient enough to follow a technical argument. From the diplomatic annals of the past half-century, Mr. Iklé has constructed a highly sophisticated theory of international negotiation that stresses the varied circumstances under which negotiations may be entered into, the complexity of the negotiating process, and the numerous types of agreement (or "no agreement") that can result from it. If this ground-breaking effort appears in some respects to fall short of the reality it seeks to encompass, the reason lies mainly in its rather casual treatment of the politico-military environment in which negotiations take place. Fascinated by the interplay of diplomatic tactics and "styles," the author tends to minimize the influence of differing political systems, power positions, and long-range aims in determining what is said and done in the conference room.

This foreshortening is especially noticeable in Mr. Iklé's comparison of Soviet and Western negotiating methods. Admitting that the Russians have made egregious diplomatic blunders, he nevertheless finds much to admire in the resourcefulness and freedom from scruple displayed by Soviet diplomats. Western diplomatic manners, he feels, are too inhibited, too chivalrous to be effective against such adversaries; indeed, the West's whole diplomatic record is reproached for a want of daring, a kind of built-in defeatism. On the strength of this tactical judgment, the author proceeds to urge a bolder, more aggressive Western diplomacy that would not shrink from calculated deceit, threats, and other devices hitherto associated mainly with totalitarian governments.

Such recommendations are not in themselves a novelty, as contemporary Americans are aware. What is remarkable is that this otherwise careful scholar makes so little effort to refute the more obvious objections to his position. Like other advocates of a more energetic, less scrupulous policy toward the Communist world, he is unable to promise that the Communist governments would prove amenable to a unilateral change in diplomatic rules. He makes no allowance for the requirements of coalition diplomacy and the difficulties involved in concerting our negotiating strategy with a group of independent-minded allies. Nor does he tell us how far a country like the United States can expect to adopt its adversaries' methods without debasing the political and ethical values it is committed to uphold. This question of the mode of conduct appropriate to the world's most powerful democracy has recurred constantly ever since the first American encounters with totalitarian dictatorship a generation ago. It has perhaps never been so urgent as it is today, and it would be reassuring to hear that Mr. Iklé intends to explore it for us in his next book.

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Might No Longer Makes Right

Power Transformed, *by Robert M. MacIver (Macmillan. 244 pp. $5), concludes that knowledge, not force, has become the prime factor in present-day international relations. Richard Hudson edits "War/Peace Report."*

By RICHARD HUDSON

EVERYBODY knows that the United States has more "power" than Italy, and that Italy, in turn, has more "power" than Mali. And, likewise, that President Johnson has more "power" than the president of a business firm, who in turn has more "power" than a man working on his production line. But of what exactly does this "power" consist? How is it exercised? And how is it changing? It is to these complex questions that Robert M. MacIver, author of many books, and chancellor of the New School for Social Research, addresses himself in *Power Transformed.*

The author opens his study with a personal chronicle. "My early lot was cast in a remote island off the west coast of Scotland while Victoria was still the great and glorious queen in the eyes of the people. . . . There was no radio, and television was unconceived. On my native island we even had no telephones until I was well in my teens." He concludes, "Growing up in such an age, the writer feels that he has left not only his youth far, far behind, but also the very world in which he lived."

While recounting the great historical events of his time—and ranging backwards even to tribal societies—Dr. MacIver decides that physical force is decreasing as an element in power. In fact, he suggests that "the power of man over man . . . was never mainly a question of physical strength." He puts it poetically: "The tender blade of grass that lifts through the earth is exhibiting power no less than the earthquake—and who shall say that the former is not at least as significant as the latter?"

The first element of power, Dr. MacIver contends, is knowledge. While history books tell of kings and wars, it is the thinkers, the artists, and the scientists who are really moving society forward. With the right "know-how, know-what, know-when, and know-where" the rest of the attributes of power will follow. Among the other determinants of power he cites are personality, possessions, management, organization, and authority. Dr. MacIver does not pretend that his analysis has "explained" power; in fact, he thinks that the nature of power is exceedingly complex, and getting more so every day. Power was simple only in the rigid and hierarchical societies of the past.

Looking at the Bomb, Dr. MacIver sees the need for "a new and climactic reduction in the role of physical coercion" and "some established system of world regulation." Even the achievement of these would not bring complete peace, however; he would still expect "outbreaks of sporadic violence, border raids and forays, especially between lesser states, the overthrow of governments by internal insurrections, and processes of subversion that illicitly use some coercive device." But at least there would be no atomic war.

Dr. MacIver appears to hold some confidence that the world will move toward such self-regulation. But his analysis of the way in which statesmen have exercised power would seem to lead rather to pessimism. In the first sentence of his book he says, "I have been increasingly impressed by the manner in which power and folly often go hand in hand." He thinks that both world wars could have been prevented through wiser behavior on the part of world leaders and could have been terminated much sooner through negotiation. He finds that power tends not so much to "corrupt" in the moral sense as to cause men to lose their sense of proportion. Those in power develop a feeling of superiority that leads them to think they know more than they do and to avoid admitting their mistakes. For these reasons, "the men of might have shown themselves more liable to serious error than the men who are experienced in conducting other important affairs."

The world must hope that its current statesmen will exercise their power more wisely than have their predecessors. If Dr. MacIver is right that knowledge, not force, has become the prime factor in power, maybe they will.

"I'll see your bid of $500,000 and raise you another $275,000. . . ."

Coming January 16

"What Happened at Berkley"

By James Cass

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To Break the Silent Heart

***Our Faces, Our Words,** by Lillian Smith (Norton. 128 pp. $3.75), humanizes in a series of imagined monologues the pain and tension, the hopes and frustrations of participants in the civil rights movement. Bruce M. Galphin, a Nieman Fellow (1962-63), is an editorial writer and columnist for the Atlanta Constitution.*

By BRUCE M. GALPHIN

THOSE familiar with the vocabulary of discrimination are wary of the proposition that "the racial problem will never be solved until the hearts and minds of men are changed"; it has served too long as the rationalization of the comfortable. Yet it is one of those clichés rooted in truth, and no matter what street the human rights movement takes, inevitably it reaches the wall of non-understanding and imperfect human relationships.

Sit-ins may achieve dramatic gains, and laws may confer rights undreamed of a decade ago. Yet in the heat of racial passion men still burn and riot and murder; and in a cooler but equally deep rage they bar the doors to their churches, their clubs, their homes, and their hearts.

Before America can take the last and most important step toward the goal of equal dignity for all, then, the human wall must be torn down. And that is what Lillian Smith, in this slender volume, attempts to do: not to describe or analyze The Movement, but to portray the people involved in it or affected by it—people awakening, people with crusaders' uncomplicated zeal and people with self-doubts, people loving and people hating.

It is not surprising that Miss Smith uses a series of imagined monologues, for nothing could humanize The Movement more than first-person narrative. What may be surprising, at least to those unfamiliar with *Killers of the Dream,* is the depth of Miss Smith's empathy, which far surpasses the mere understanding of competent novelist and impels the reader into personal involvement.

The photographs selected for *Our Faces, Our Words* heighten the already intense mood. They serve less as direct illustrations than as emotional punctuation: One reads of a white female civil rights worker's terror in a Mississippi jail and turns to the vaguely sinister, plump face of a sheriff's deputy; discussion of poverty is emphasized with pictures of urban Negro slumhouses and rural white shacks.

There is a loose pattern to the sequence of the monologues. They move from an awakening to the reality of discrimination, and the achievement of self-recognition by resistance, to experiences and tensions within The Movement and finally to the problems ahead: ignorance, poverty, self-seeking intruders, frustration and disillusionment with nonviolent protest.

Most of the speakers are Negroes, but one is a white girl and another a white minister with a troubled conscience; not until the final chapter does the author speak as herself. Each section is enormously poignant: The young man shocked from his Negro middle-class lethargy with the thought, "If Mom was tired and needed a cup of coffee, where could she get it?" The participant in a sit-in suddenly realizing, "My God, they *see* us. We're real!" Or the white girl, still loving her father but alienated on the subject of race: "Maybe I screamed to drown out your silence. And so I ended up in a Mississippi jail, listening to a dirty lowdown cop talking about 'niggers screwing me'—me, your Vassar-educated, summer-camp-trained daughter who loves poetry and philosophy and art and human beings and the excellence her father told her always to search for."

Black and white alike, the young middle-class crusaders are shocked by the realities of crises and of daily, grinding work.

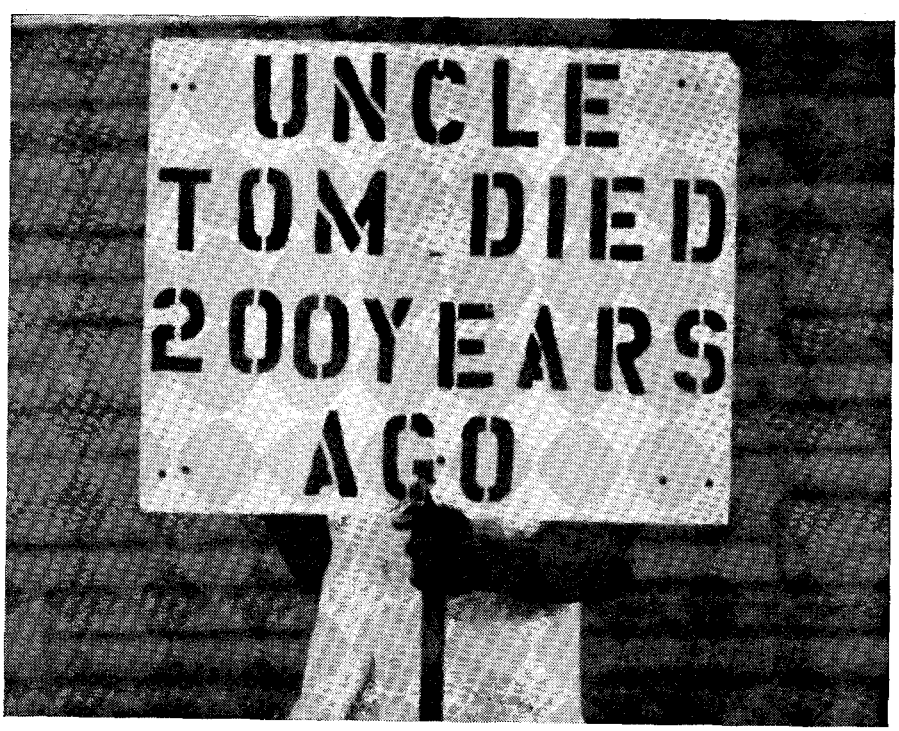
In Mississippi, one of them finds, the subtleties of "civil rights" are lost; here the enemies are poverty and illiteracy: "They *need. Need everything.* This is zero. You begin here in the mud and dust at nothing and inch up. . . . Tomorrow I'll teach a kid to read. 'This is a book; I want to know what is in it.' One inch; one inch up."

A Northern Negro finds both himself and white volunteers strangers to Southern Negroes, sometimes isolated, sometimes rebuked. Yet another remarks, "You need to be a saint to stay nonviolent in the Delta. You're ringed with violence. . . ."

IN the concluding section Miss Smith tells of the elderly Negro preacher who, asked to deliver a prayer at a meeting of bickering civil rights workers, paused until all were silent, then said, "Break their hearts, O God; give them tears."

"*Give us tears . . .*" the author echoes. "Ah, that is it: how to break our hearts without breaking the unity of this country, the inner conciliation that must never be weakened. How to appeal? How to level walls without the consent that comes from good personal relationships? How to have good relationships while walls stand?"

This book offers some meaningful answers.



—*From the book.*

". . . emotional punctuation."

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Race: Results Instead of Reasons

SNCC: The New Abolitionists *(Beacon. 246 pp. $4.95), and* ***The Southern Mystique*** *(Knopf. 267 pp. $4.95), both by Howard Zinn, advance the premise that the productive procedure in dealing with racial problems is to ignore cause and concentrate on results. Ralph McGill is author of "The South and the Southerner."*

By RALPH McGILL

HOWARD ZINN is a passionate idealist and partisan. A part of his strength is what his friends have called an almost philosophic determination to express what is best about those whom he admires and those who are on his side. This is an admirable quality, but it also lends itself at times in these books to sentimentalizing and romanticizing.

SNCC: The New Abolitionists is an excellent book for our time. As the author says, it is not a history of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—which quickly came to be called "Snick"); instead it offers a glimpse of its members in action. Some of these young people were his students, and, besides joining their picket lines, he worked at getting a number of them out of jails.

This reviewer shares Mr. Zinn's admiration for the SNCC groups. Now and then they acted unwisely and ill-advisedly. At times they acted impulsively, without adequate information or preparation. But in the main they were magnificent in their courage, dedication, and commitment. Let no one minimize the grit required to go into the Southern towns where there was (and is) so much hate and venomous resistance. The early "sit-ins" and the subsequent "freedom riders" were productive of the most, and the quickest, changes on the Southern scene. Neither courts nor processes of law could so well have dramatized the immorality and irrationality of the segregated lunch counters and dining rooms in variety stores, bus depots, and department stores. The writer knows first hand the inspiration these groups gave to fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, and grandparents in the rural South. In a sense, they were bringing to life the meaning of the U.S. Supreme Court decision. They worked in a field where there was no "law." There was then no public accommodations section of a civil rights act. The smell of jails and injustice, of brutality and ignorance is in Mr. Zinn's chapters on Mississippi, Alabama, and southwest Georgia.

It is, however, a little difficult to accept the author's conclusion that the federal government has been deliberately negligent in not using all its legal weapons. He generalizes too much. Certainly the Justice Department made errors; the story of Albany, Georgia, is perhaps the best example of that. But the basic frustration of the federal government has been the fact that local juries all too frequently ignore evidence and refuse to convict those brought to trial, no matter how good the case. Indeed, grand juries have often refused to bring in indictments because of prejudice against "the government." It was necessary for Washington at all times to try to bring about local settlements and to encourage any persons who were working for progress.

SNCC has continued its efforts in the months since Mr. Zinn's "glimpse" was written. Volunteers in Mississippi provided a good chapter. Three gave their lives in Philadelphia, in what will remain one of the more sadistic, brutal murders of our history. McComb, Mississippi, as of this writing, has had some eighteen bombings, including one at the home of the white mayor of Natchez. But, because of the work of SNCC and the superb support of Dr. Martin Luther King, the NAACP, and others, a beginning has been made in school desegregation in Mississippi. The monolith of defiance has been cracked.

The Southern Mystique is a collection of essays previously published as magazine articles. The first, "Is the Southern White Unfathomable?," is a psychological analysis of racial prejudice. Mr. Zinn is quite right in saying that the mystique with which the South has so long surrounded itself is beginning to vanish. Certainly the thoughtful person must agree with the author's premise that the wise and productive procedure is to ignore "cause" as a general philosophical problem and concentrate on "result." Mr. Zinn suggests—and is, I believe, on sound ground—that there is really no mystery involved in the Southern attitude. We are learning that, while the Southerner cares about segregation, sometimes fanatically, in his hierarchy of desires there are things he cares about more: "monetary profit, political power, staying out of jail, the approval of one's peers, etc."

The essay "The Mysterious Negro," proves, of course, there is no such thing. Like all of us, the Negro is a product of the complex factors that make up what we too glibly call "an environment." No other American, for example, has had so much daily humiliation in his environment as the Negro.

Since Mr. Zinn wrote these two books the slum riots have come and, for a time, ceased. The FBI has, by Presidential order, examined them and found no basis to suspect organized inspiration or direction. But the inflammable materials of slum, crime, ignorance, frustration, hopelessness, and humiliation remain. Unless we act as a nation, cooperating on the local level, there will be more riots.

"I haven't found out what life is. I'm too busy making a living."

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The World War on Poverty

***Hungry Nations**, by William and Paul Paddock (Little, Brown. 344 pp. $6.50), claims that both local planning and foreign aid in underdeveloped countries too often neglect basic agronomy for spectacular projects. Arthur E. Burns is professor of economics and dean of the Graduate Council at George Washington University in Washington, D.C.*

By ARTHUR E. BURNS

HERE is a depressing book about despondent nations doing mainly the wrong things to modernize and develop their economies. More often than not foreign aid connives in these misdirected efforts.

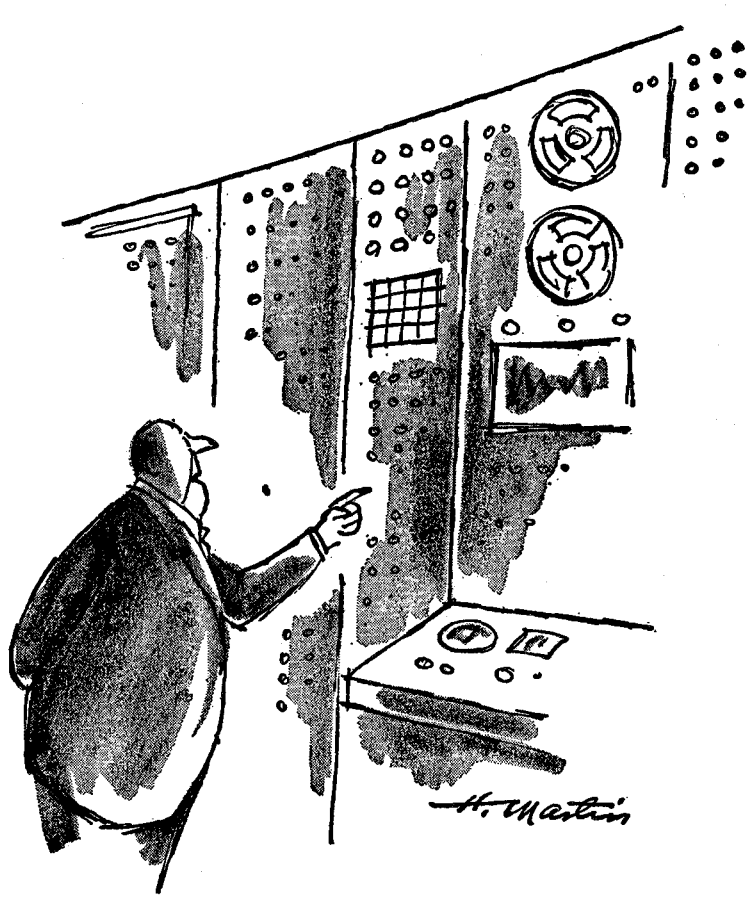
This verdict comes from the reflections, prejudices, and work of two brothers with long experience in economically backward regions. One, a retired foreign service officer, had a string of hardship posts; the other, a plant pathologist and agronomist, worked with the infertile soil of Latin America and the Middle East. Theirs is an opinionated book, lacking in balance and, at times, good judgment. But the message it conveys commands attention in the growing debate on foreign aid and the prospects of economic development.

As the authors see it, the poverty of the poor nations holds no mystery: they simply lack the basic natural resources and climate for comfortable living. The lush tropics and the arid regions cannot yield more than a miserable existence even with the present state of the agricultural arts. The "vast potential" of Indonesia, Brazil, or Siberia is a myth. Basic wealth comes from mother earth, whose endowments are unevenly distributed. The hungry will remain hungry until long, patient research gradually finds ways for them to gain more from their infertile soil and inhospitable climate. The agronomist member of this writing team holds out the hope that this may be done, provided agrarian research and development take top priority in the plans of poor countries and their foreign benefactors.

But there is the rub. The planners down-grade agrarian research and development. They belong mostly to the urban intelligentsia, and their foreign university training—or legal or engineering training at home—blinds them to the basic forces underlying and antecedent to general economic development. Slighting agriculture, they push industrialization, hydroelectric projects, costly highway schemes, bigger buildings for the bureaucracy, a Five Year Plan for an India whose food crisis grows apace and is aggravated in the end by U.S. surplus food disposal. Such attitudes are "fallacies" that ensnare the hungry nations. There are others: slum clearance, which attracts the rural poor and creates another ring of shanty towns; public health programs, which are undermined by malnutrition; educational systems that teach the irrelevant; hospitals that scarcely patch the surface of need. Hungry nations with scant resources can ill afford these luxuries. The Paddocks would trim them back, or drop them, and apply the resources thus freed to the main tasks of economic development.

Although they hurt their case by overselling it, in *Hungry Nations* the Paddocks make important, if not new, points that need constant reiteration: There are mixed-up priorities in the poor countries' plans and in foreign aid programs. Prestige projects divert resources from more useful purposes. Foreign aid "impact" projects often contribute little to growth. If not as universal as the Paddocks aver, there is neglect of agrarian development. Developmental sequences are squeezed out of order: costly welfare programs and services, dear to specialists here and abroad, are consequences, not causes of economic growth, as this reviewer has brought out in his 1952 Vargas lectures in Rio. Foreign aid is overprogrammed by too many specialists who tend to project the U.S. pattern onto unprepared countries, frequently to the neglect of basic growth requirements. These points come through the welter of sweeping generalizations that mar the Paddocks' book.

In the spectrum of backwardness one finds a great variety of conditions; some places are more backward than others. Generalizations obscure this fact. Perhaps hunger is common throughout the spectrum, but its alleviation need not foreclose in all cases a vigorous promotion of other productive sectors. Conditions and prospects differ; the spectrum is wide. The position on it, and the character of the indigenous forces of change and growth—if there be such—prescribe the priority and the distribution of capital and effort.



"You're a good computer but not a great computer."

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Even "Mother Factory" Failed Him

***My Troubles Began,** by Paolo Volponi, translated by Belén Sevareid (Grossman. 231 pp. $5), crystallizes in its picture of one man's futile struggles against a robotlike existence the chaos of human relations in a technological society. Sergio Pacifici is completing a study of modern Italian fiction. His "Guide to Contemporary Italian Literature" appeared in 1962.*

By SERGIO PACIFICI

PAOLO VOLPONI's beautifully written novel, translated with rare sensibility by Belén Sevareid, is one of the finest and most important books to have appeared in Italy over the past decade. Seemingly a novel of protest, *My Troubles Began* may be read in various ways: as a pathetic account of a workingman's grievances against an economic order that has enslaved him to a robotlike existence, as a poetic dramatization of the malaise of our technological society that psychologists call alienation, or as a hauntingly accurate portrayal of a paranoid mind. Whatever his perspective, the reader is certain to find Volponi's narrative amply rewarding both as fiction and as a penetrating analysis of life in our industrialized era.

The story is set in Candia, a factory town near Turin, Italy, between 1946 and 1956. The protagonist-narrator is Albino Saluggia, a young man ill with tuberculosis who has just returned home from the war and a stint in a Nazi prisoners' camp. This is not, however, a vignette of Italian life; it is an engrossing novel about a man desperately searching for meaning, values, self-fulfillment and, above all, love in a lonely world. Thus, Saluggia's various confrontations with his fellow-workers, plant managers, physicians, and witch-doctors ultimately serve to underscore the anxiety, the feeling of uselessness and displacement, experienced by the individual who is exploited by his boss and rejected by his family, misled and almost persecuted by those charged with taking care of his body and soul.

Troubled by an illness that gives him no respite, Saluggia tries in vain to establish a relationship with the factory in which he works: "It was," he writes with his customary lucidity, "a unique relationship, an unspoken relationship, mine alone, and it had nothing to do with the people in my department or any of the others who worked in the factory." Devotion to the plant alternates with hatred; yet the hero manages to reach some tenable philosophical conclusions about his milieu: "The trouble is that the factories as they exist today slowly rob all those who work in them of the feeling that they are on this earth alone and with others and all the things of this earth. In this way, one forgets the true destiny of man and this vision is replaced by an ever-increasing pride in the factory, in the machines, and in the organization that succeeds in doing things that no man has ever done or dreamed of doing."

"Mother Factory," in whom the hero had placed his hopes for a tranquil and meaningful existence, thinking that she possessed the instruments to resolve the problems of the human predicament, fails Saluggia. There is considerable irony in this situation, of course: neither the factory nor the technicians employed by the management to give the workers a deceptive "sense of belonging" grant the protagonist the strength and faith in life to continue searching for the meaning of man's fate. On the contrary: the factory, where he had sought order, harmony, and security, reveals itself to be a source of disorder, disharmony, and insecurity—an apt symbol of the chaos of human relations and of the absurdity of life.

The many years of trial at the factory, the "blessed, cursed, black words that were fruits of [his] nights and [his] thoughts," have at least taught Albino, and with him the reader, that there is no simple answer to the riddle of the tragedy of life. The answers—if any there be—must be found in ourselves.

"Remember the good ol' days when all we had to fear was the capitalists?"

Coming January 23

"The New Architecture of U. S. Cities"

A Special Section

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Blood on the Spanish Landscape

The Corrida at San Feliu, *by Paul Scott (Morrow. 277 pp. $4.95), and* ***Love Lies Bleeding,*** *by Peter Viertel (Doubleday. 374 pp. $4.95), draw upon la fiesta brava, the first for an allegorical, the second a literal presentation. Maia Wojciechowska Rodman is the author of the only book on bullfighting for young readers, "Shadow of a Bull."*

By MAIA W. RODMAN

BOOKS on bullfighting seem to suffer from the occupational hazard of bullfighters: unevenness. But just as a *matador* can be unforgivable with one bull, and that same afternoon unforgettable with another, so can the author redeem himself from page to page and chapter to chapter.

Paul Scott's *The Corrida at San Feliu* is an exciting novel as long as it keeps away from the bull ring. *Love Lies Bleeding*, by Peter Viertel, is just the opposite: it is completely absorbing when it describes the action within the bull ring and almost a total *fracaso* (failure) outside it.

To Mr. Scott's great credit (and in spite of the insistence of the jacket copy), his book has precious little to do with tauromachy, which is used mainly to symbolize life in general and the plight of the novel's characters in particular. Since the author admits his inadequate knowledge of the subject, the reader should not only dismiss the bullfight references, but also forgive Mr. Scott for using *la fiesta brava* as an awkward allegorical prop.

The Corrida at San Feliu is purportedly a posthumously published book containing "papers," autobiographical notes, and manuscripts left by Edward Thornhill, a writer who died with his wife in a car accident in Spain. In the preface the publishers claim that death to be accidental, but ultimately one is certain it was, if not premeditated, then predestined.

Only the technicality of being part of *The Corrida at San Feliu* will prevent "Thornhill's" short story "The Leopard Mountain" from being anthologized. It is as fine a piece of writing as anything done on Africa by Hemingway. This is followed by three chapters of an unfinished novel with India for background.

These seemingly unrelated chapters are subsequently drawn upon in the book's principal part, "The Plaza de Toros," where the characters of Lesley and Thelma, from the earlier section, are intermingled with Thornhill's wife Myra, forming a curiously effective, composite picture of an exciting and many-faceted woman. A similar technique is used with the male characters, those inhabiting the Indian landscape and rediscovered on the beach of the Costa Brava.

Detached, self-aware, Thornhill is a man obsessed with his wife, his past, the futility of the present and the obscurity of the future. A character both exasperating and noble. In him, and in the complex, somewhat abstract shape of the book, Mr. Scott has used his considerable gifts to excellent advantage. He wields beautiful passages with the grace with which an inspired *torero* wields the *muleta*. And the music of those passages seems to be as much a part of the novel's action as the *paso doble* during an exceptional *faena*.

Mr. Viertel, on the other hand, suffers from an obvious case of total recall, and this retards his novel. *Love Lies Bleeding* is also burdened by the character Richard Belden, a writer, a gentleman, and a bore, through whose eyes we see the *matador* Juan Ramón Vasquez and his entourage. The detail with which their conversations and actions are recorded makes for an extremely sluggish start, but once Mr. Viertel enters the ring he becomes as good a writer as Ramón is a bullfighter. He understands the art as well as he understands the public that supports it:

" . . . there was seated behind Belden and Teresa a squat-faced Frenchman with his fat wife, two creatures of startling grossness, whose sole purpose appeared to be the decrying of the spectacle they had come to see; as if the corrida itself was an affront to their way of life, a challenge to their world of big meals and shark-nosed cars, and the unending *engueulade* of their waking hours. Grace and courage were to be exposed, so it seemed, for they were both constantly looking for the counterfeit in everything. If it could all be proven a fake, then it was worth the price of admission; that appeared to be their basic attitude. The man, and he had the right face for the job, was apparently their self-appointed guide to disenchantment, for he pointed out everything that was wrong or could be wrong in a loud voice, instructing his wife in the many instances of fraud he saw or suspected. . . . " And there is this short, vivid description of the Spanish: " . . . shouting their approval of him with the noisy, shameless, immediate forgiveness that only a bullfight audience is capable of."

The novel is dedicated to Luis Miguel Dominguín, but Juan Ramón Vasquez is much too honorable a fighter to be a true portrait of that particular *matador*. However, there is one beautifully delineated character, who would appear to be a full-sized image of Ava Gardner. Because of the nature of bullfighting, its impermanence, the novel's action is not easy to describe successfully and excitingly. The plastic beauty of the passes, after their split-second creation, can live for years in the memory of the spectator. Mr. Viertel achieves the seemingly impossible feat of capturing their essence and engraving them on our minds.

December 13th at Forty-ninth and Fifth

By Josephine Jacobsen

I PASSED between the bell and the glass
window. Santa rang his bell. The wax girl leaned
forward: she was naked and had red nails.
Santa wore spectacles and rang his bell.
The tower-tall trees raised rainbows in the dusk.

The snow fell lightly. I did not stop to ask
the scarlet man a favor; the girl leaned as if to give
from her wax body blood or heat or love.
But she was wax. Her belly and breast were shaped;
she wore black pumps and leaned, above the pavement.

The unique snowflake died on the cement.
I passed between her wax eyes and his clapper.
The steelrimmed eyes watched me, the wax eyes watched the watcher,
he rang, she leaned, to give me my message. That I should breed
unique love's seed; alive, from her wax and his steel.

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Sea Change in Chicago

Full Fathom Five, *by John Stewart Carter (Houghton Mifflin. 246 pp. $4.95), winner of the publisher's Literary Fellowship Award, ornaments a family chronicle with literary and musical allusions. Elizabeth Janeway's latest novel is "Accident."*

By ELIZABETH JANEWAY

JOHN CARTER has chosen the title for his novel justly: Shakespeare's words, famous to the point of banality, call up, as does the book, well-fingered images, often-heard echoes, while implying "something rich and strange." The very choice of a "familiar quotation" as a title floods the mind with literary allusions, and Mr. Carter is full of them. His characters talk and think in quotations, and define each other in terms of books and operas. His scene is set to recapture more than a personal past. Of course fiction must be more than personal and individual if it is to communicate anything at all; but it should recall life, not other books. If while we read an author the shock of recognition touches us, it had better be a bit of experience that we recognize and not, say, a scene from Scott Fitzgerald.

Now, Mr. Carter has not fallen into his literary style by accident. When he summons up Fitzgerald, and makes a love affair echo *Der Rosenkavalier,* he does so on purpose. He means to turn his father's bones to coral. Well, hasn't he a right to write a literary book? Yes, of course he has. But then he must pay for what happens to his characters. Encrusted with bits of culture, laden with objets d'art, they slow to a crawl within their armor of allusion, like crutaceans. They have indeed suffered a sea-change, and become not people, but characters in a book. They strike no sparks. One is always aware that one is reading about them.

They are the Scott family, a solid, immensely wealthy Chicago clan founded by a robber baron; set in a pattern of cosmopolitan culture by his beautiful second wife and widow; turning from money-making to public service in the second generation, which is exemplified by one of ten sons, a brilliant, devoted, hearty doctor; and issuing, in one of *his* sons, in a poet, the narrator who recites this family chronicle. The tale covers more than fifty years, beginning before the narrator is born (but, like a born narrator, he is a magnet for confidences). It casts back and forth in time, and here and there in space, stopping now in Milan and now in Mexico but always returning to center in the family properties in Chicago and its suburbs.

The tutelary deity of these estates and possessions is the narrator's grandmother. She is conceived as a focus of meaning, the center and embodiment of the old, rich life. Her sons adore her, and so does a young Italian tenor, Edward, who plays Octavian to her Marschallin. Behind the rich fabric of formal life are human emotions, Mr. Carter wants us to know. Not very surprising, really, and besides, what is revealed when the curtain is drawn back is almost exactly what we had expected to find.

Mr. Carter's book is certainly skillful technically. It is arranged as a search through memory and time for the real father-figure dominating the narrator's life. There is first Uncle Tom, who represents (I guess) The Flesh. He is the charming, earthy, older man-friend, always successful in love, always generous and warm with his young nephew, but finding his way to his own soul only late in life and secretly.

Next we are introduced to Edward, the tenor, as an old man, who brings to the young narrator the wide world of art, Europe, standards that have nothing to do with wealth. It's an interesting idea. Henry James, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather all handled it well. But here Edward never comes alive in himself. He is only a lay figure, important as a shade of darkness in the family picture and a station on the boy's journey toward self-knowledge.

Last we come to the real father, larger than life and guilty, it seems, of giving too much to his son, of overwhelming and outmatching him. Thus he can be found and valued only as the son comes to his middle years. He is always respected, but his symbolic meaning—he is the other focus of the book—prevents his son from seeing him as a person and loving him as a father. The barrier of awe and the conventional relationship breaks only when the doctor is touched by illness and moves toward death. This is both a true and disturbing conception and one worth hanging a book on. But—alas!—the doctor also talks too much. He is always reminiscing, explaining, and, yes, quoting. One has only to recall Dr. Bull in James Gould Cozzens's *Last Adam* to see what can be made of a great, roaring physician-figure, ambivalent about hurting and healing, in order to feel once more that Mr. Carter has shaped an all-important character to his own purposes and reduced him to the narrow compass of the book.

This is a novel, then, with a fatal air of being made out of other novels and not out of life.

My Father, My Enemy

Naked Eye, *by Charles Neider (Horizon. 159 pp. $3.95), grapples with classic concerns, not least the struggle for maturity. Daniel Stern is the author of the novel "Who Shall Live, Who Shall Die."*

By DANIEL STERN

TELEMACHUS and Odysseus, Prince Hamlet and King Hamlet, Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom—the relationship of father to son and son to father (or father-image) is one of enduring interest. In Charles Neider's new novel, *Naked Eye,* the ancient polarity reappears; and it is as fresh, as intense and affecting as if such passions had never before been explored. In this brief, eloquent novel the tension between a famous photographer and his bitter but oddly tender son is an exquisitely rendered and exquisitely moving experience.

Charles Neider has had a particularly anomalous career. He has edited many books, among them *The Autobiography of Mark Twain.* Although his two novels, *The White Citadel* and *The Authentic Death of Hendry Jones,* had a relatively small audience, they were enthusiastically greeted and seriously reviewed by intelligent critics. Mr. Neider has led that most problematical of literary lives: that of the author's author. Yet this small gem of a novel, *Naked Eye,* went begging on the American scene. It was issued in England, and only after that was the book taken for American publication.

In a way it is not difficult to see why. Written in a warm, poetic but supple and controlled style, this is a novel that grapples with the great concerns of the past: character, family life, the ordeal

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and possibilities of marriage, the struggle for maturity, the value a man's work gives to his life. Now, in a literary world increasingly dominated by the spurious notion that our only choice is between Herman Wouk and Genet, where do you place a writer like Neider: serious without being "absurd," concerned with continuity without being "old-fashioned"?

Consider, for example, the central situation in *Naked Eye*. The photographer, who is a passionate individualist, and a rake as well, is dying. Also a photographer, his son Hal greets the news with deep satisfaction. Ezra has set him an almost impossible goal to meet as artist; moreover, he has had an affair with his own daughter-in-law, neglected his wife and children, never given but always demanded love.

Hal makes the journey from California to the East to gloat at the bedside of his mortal enemy during his final decay. In the subsequent weeks a beautifully wrought counterpoint of inner and outer drama ensues, involving Hal's wife, mistress, and mother—but, most of all, his own sense of self. At the end of this spiritual journey a new kind of manhood has evolved, so subtly and naturally that it is impossible to trace the specific factors and nuances which adumbrated the change.

With such material a writer is haunted, always, by the twin ghosts of sentimentality and cynicism. It is a measure of Neider's craft that neither of these wins out. Instead, we have a deceptively simple, directly told story written by an artist with the command of language and structure to make us feel deeply as we read.

SR's Check List of the Week's New Books

Anthologies

THE BEST OF JIM MURRAY. Doubleday. $4.50.

FACES OF FIVE DECADES. (Essays from *The New Republic*.) Edited by Robert Luce. Simon & Schuster. $7.95.

Art, Architecture

AMERICA'S SMALL HOUSES: The Personal Homes of Designers and Collectors. By Henry Lionel Williams and Ottalie K. Williams. Barnes. $25.

BENDINER'S PHILADELPHIA. By Alfred Bendiner. Barnes. $4.95.

JEWISH CEREMONIAL ART. By Joseph Gutmann. Yoseloff. $8.50.

Crime, Suspense

THE CRIMSON PATCH. By Phoebe Atwood Taylor. Norton. $3.50.

FROM DOON WITH DEATH. By Ruth Randell. Doubleday. $3.50.

THE LATE BRIDE. By Theodora DuBois. McKay. $3.95.

A PROCESSION OF THE DAMNED. By Wilson Tucker. Doubleday. $3.50.

THE TENTH POINT. By Thomas Walsh. Simon & Schuster. $3.50.

Current Affairs

THE ABUNDANT PEACE. By Robert C. Garretson. NAL-World. $7.50.

AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY. By Wesley W. Posvar, John C. Ries, and others. Johns Hopkins. $9.50.

ASSASSINATION OF A PRESIDENT: New York Times Supplement. Viking. $1.50.

THE GREAT DEBATE: Theories of Nuclear Strategy. By Raymond Aron. $4.95.

INDONESIA. By J. D. Legge. Prentice-Hall. Hardbound, $4.95. Paperback, $1.95.

POLITICAL AWAKENING IN THE CONGO: The Politics of Fragmentation. By René Lemarchand. Univ. of California Press. $7.95.

RUSSIA. By Robert V. Daniels. Prentice-Hall. Hardbound, $4.95. Paperback, $1.95.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION. By Thomas Merton. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $4.95.

THE STRATEGY OF PERSUASION. By Arthur E. Meyerhoff. Coward-McCann. $4.50.

THE TRIAL OF STEPHEN WARD. By Ludovic Kennedy. Simon & Schuster. $4.95.

WHO KILLED KENNEDY? By Thomas G. Buchanan. Putnam. $4.95.

Fiction

BWANA DRUM. By Dennis Holman. Norton. $4.50.

THE HIGHER ANIMALS: A Romance. By H. E. F. Donohue. Viking. $4.95.

A HOUSE ON THE SOUND. By Kathrin Perutz. Coward-McCann. $3.95.

HOW I WON THE WAR. By Patrick Ryan. Morrow. $3.95.

HURRY SUNDOWN. By K. B. Gilden. Doubleday. $7.95.

ILYITCH SLEPT HERE. By Henry Carlisle. Lippincott. $4.95.

THE LEGEND OF THE SEVENTH VIRGIN. By Victoria Holt. Doubleday. $4.95.

NINA UPSTAIRS. By Beverley Gasner. Knopf. $3.95.

PULLED DOWN. By Phyllis Paul. Norton. $4.50.

THE SEA FLOWER. By Ruth Moore. Morrow. $4.50.

THE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS OF JEAN MACAQUE. By Stuart Cloete. Trident. $4.95.

THE TRAIN FROM KATANGA. By Wilbur Smith. Viking. $4.95.

History

THE CONSCIENCE OF INDIA. By Lacy Creighton. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $7.50.

THE NEGRO SINCE EMANCIPATION. Edited by Harvey Wish. Prentice-Hall. Hardbound, $4.95. Paperback, $1.95.

ON THE PENITENTIARY SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS APPLICATION IN FRANCE. By Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville. Critical introduction by Thorsten Sellin. Southern Illinois Univ. Press. $6.

PERU AND THE UNITED STATES: 1900-1962. By James C. Carey. Univ. of Notre Dame Press. $6.50.

THE SEA AND THE SWORD: The Baltic 1630-1945. By Oliver Warner. Morrow. $6.

Literary Criticism

FICTION AND THE SHAPE OF BELIEF: A Study of Fielding with Glances at Swift, Johnson and Richardson. By Sheldon Sacks. Univ. of California Press. $7.

THE TWO VOICES: A Tennyson Study. By Elton Edward Smith. Univ. of Nebraska Press. $5.

Miscellany

DAREDEVILS OF SASSOUN: The Armenian National Epic. By Leon Surmelian. Alan Swallow. $5.

ICE ISLAND. By Tim Weeks and Ramona Maher. John Day. $4.95.

MODERN PUBLICITY 1964-65. Edited by Ella Moody. Viking. $12.50.

MYSTERIOUS SENSES. By Vitus B. Droscher. Dutton. $5.95.

THE ONLY DIET THAT WORKS. By Herbert Brean. Morrow. $4.50.

THIRTY DAYS TO BETTER ENGLISH. By Norman Lewis. Doubleday. $3.95.

TREASURE AT HOME. By John Mebane. Barnes. $8.50.

Personal History

GRAHAM TAYLOR: Pioneer for Social Justice 1851-1938. By Louise C. Wade. Univ. of Chicago Press. $7.50.

THE LOUD HALO. By Lillian Beckwith. Dutton. $3.95.

RUN TO THE LEE. By Kenneth F. Brooks, Jr. Norton. $3.95.

Psychology

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOMOSEXUALITY. By Daniel Cappon. Prentice-Hall. $6.95.

Religion, Philosophy

BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILOSOPHY. By Henry Thomas. Doubleday. $5.50.

SEEK A CITY SAINT. By David Head. Macmillan. $2.50.

—Compiled by RUTH BROWN.

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Businessman of Year

Continued from page 40

American business has provided businessmen with critical challenges—and exhilarating opportunities—in shaping responses to basic trends like the modernization of the underdeveloped nations. As American business has internationalized its activities, corporate managers have had to supplement their salesmanship with statesmanship."

In this spirit he has helped organize two private vehicles of corporate statesmanship, the International Executive Service Corps, of which he is chairman, and the Business Group for Latin America. Both are imbued with Mr. Rockefeller's pragmatic vision of public service.

THE purpose of the executive corps is to cooperate with the U.S. government in providing at the request of developing countries the able, experienced executives needed to get new enterprises under way and then train local replacements.

Similarly, because of Mr. Rockefeller's long interest in Latin America and concern for the success of the Alliance for Progress, the Business Group for Latin America was founded to bring together business leaders and government officials from north and south of the border to consult on Latin American problems.

Speaking of the transformation taking place in Latin America today, Mr. Rockefeller said:

"Today Latin America is going through a social revolution that represents a dramatic and far-reaching restructuring of an entire society. Millions of Latin Americans are determined to have a better life in the future than they have had in the past. The obstacles in their way must be removed by men of good sense and good will on both sides of the border. For hunger has no reason, desperation no conscience—and revolution is sired by both. However, Latin America does not have to be changed into a violently radical or Communist continent. Modern social revolution can develop peacefully and democratically, and such is the aim of the Alliance for Progress.

"The outcome in Latin America is bound to weigh heavily in the larger contest between Western democracy and Communism to decide which of them is to be the world's way of the future. My friend Pedro Beltran, the wise Peruvian publisher, banker, and diplomat, puts it this way: 'To the Communists, Latin America is infinitely more important than, for instance, the Arab world. For here they can create the most difficult problems on the very doorstep of their No. 1 enemy—the United States.'"

Mr. Rockefeller participated during the summer in a conference in the Soviet Union between prominent private citizens from varied walks of life in both countries. The purpose was frank, unofficial, but informed and influential discussion of mutual problems and aspirations.

In Leningrad, during a tea break in the huge, ornate, pre-Revolution mansion where the conference was held, a senior Soviet professor, only recently retired from long and responsible service in the upper levels of the Communist Party, gazed reflectively over his teacup at the youthful-looking American banker and said, "Mr. Rockefeller, maybe you do not know it, but I am an old Bolshevik. I go back to the very early times—even before the Revolution. You know, Mr. Rockefeller, many times I have asked myself: 'Why don't the masses of American workers revolt against their capitalists?' Now I have met you, and for the first time I know."

Subsequently, in an extended private interview with Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow on the general subject of U.S.-Soviet trade and credits, the grandson of one of America's most famous capitalists made a favorable impression on the rugged peasant who then ruled the Kremlin.

"A great society," said philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, "is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their functions."

Of his own philosophy of creative management, Mr. Rockefeller has said, "This concern of business with social responsibilities must find lively expression in the efforts of management to improve the community in which it does business; to help the nation attain a growth rate sufficient to provide a better life for all our citizens; and to assist developing nations in fulfilling the thrusting aspirations of their impoverished millions. If, in the exclusive pursuit of profit, business management were to lose sight of its responsibilities, there would be little hope that business could retain an effective position of leadership on the broader fronts of human affairs."

THROUGH his manifold activities in education, community service, public stewardship, and business leadership in which he has succeeded in harmonizing the public interest with his private responsibilities as a banker, Mr. Rockefeller has not only lived up to Professor Whitehead's eloquent image of the businessman in the Great Society but also to the vital image of the socially concerned businessman-citizen that *SR* regards as essential for 1965's Businessman of the Year.

—WILLIAM D. PATTERSON.

Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich and Yetta Arenstein

PLAY ON WORDS

Often a play can be identified through a single significant object or word. John D. Lane, of Clemson, South Carolina, has brought together a group of well-known plays, from ancient times to the present, and provides a clue to each. You are required to match play and clue in Column 2. Answers on page 80.

1. *Hedda Gabler*	( ) unriddling
2. *The Cherry Orchard*	( ) damned
3. *The Green Pastures*	( ) plume
4. *Journey's End*	( ) fox
5. *Cyrano de Bergerac*	( ) saved
6. *The Glass Menagerie*	( ) tale-bearers
7. *Riders to the Sea*	( ) firmament
8. *Hamlet*	( ) unicorn
9. *The Little Foxes*	( ) frailty
10. *Blithe Spirit*	( ) funk
11. *The School for Scandal*	( ) mortgage
12. *Volpone*	( ) bonds
13. *Oedipus the King*	( ) pistols
14. *Faust* (Goethe)	( ) dematerialize
15. *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*	( ) keening

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Bookshelf

Continued from page 18

their purchases are creating a major industry. Does the "culture boom" represent foolish amateurism or does it have a deeper significance?

THE MASS CONSUMPTION SOCIETY. By George Katona. McGraw-Hill. 343 pp. $7.95. In the new era of mass consumption, what kind of person is the consumer? How do his hopes and fears influence the economy?

THE AMERICANIZATION OF EUROPE. By Edward A. McCreary. Doubleday. 295 pp. $5.50. Europeans are discovering that a consumer economy based on the U.S. model means more than extra money, goods, and credit. It also means social upheaval.

THE ECONOMICS OF SOVIET PLANNING. By Abram Bergson. Yale. 394 pp. $7.50. This careful, painstaking, questioning analysis dealing with the structure and operation of Soviet socialism concludes that it has been less efficient than Western private enterprise.

LABOR AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST. By W. Willard Wirtz. Harper & Row. 196 pp. $3.95. The U.S. Secretary of Labor examines major forces and transformations on the labor scene and proposes policy programs to meet them.

BIG BUSINESS IN A COMPETITIVE SYSTEM. By A. D. H. Kaplan. Brookings Institution. 240 pp. $5. In a revised edition of an earlier study a distinguished economist finds that while the large corporation has indeed grown larger, it is still strictly disciplined by the market.

THE SINEWS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. By Clark C. Spence. Hill & Wang. 369 pp. $6. Technological change is the dominant thread in this factual, efficient history of the transformation of a simple agrarian-based economy to a complex industrial society.

MANAGEMENT USES OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. By Warren C. Lothrup. Harper & Row. 148 pp. $4. Many interesting case examples and personal observations back up this inquiry into why corporate research has so often gone off the track and how top management can give it better direction.

MANAGEMENT BY EXCEPTION. By Lester R. Bittel. McGraw-Hill. 320 pp. $8.95. What are the principles of management by exception? What makes the concept tick? What lessons of corporate experience will help executives make the system better?

please--
let him know you care

TRAN NGOC KHANH, VIETNAMESE, AGE 8½. Walks with difficulty. Polio. Three other children in family. Youngest, 2 years, also polio victim. Father TB. Cannot work. Mother earns $20.59 per month. Family undernourished. Live in hut. Two beds. Must now sell hut to pay medical bills. Khanh good student. Wants to be doctor. Parents look with despair on children they cannot help. Need acute. Help to Khanh means help to whole family.

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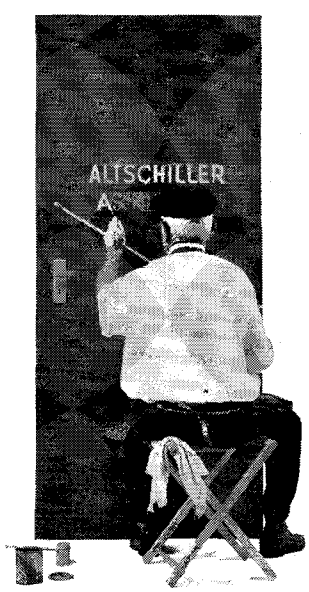
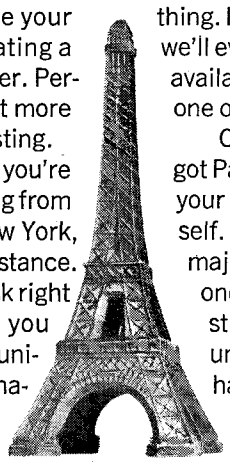
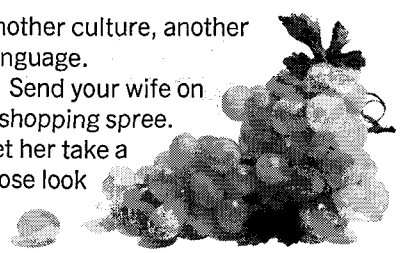


an interpreter, or a secretary, or a chauffeur, or a car, or a truck. Or anything. If you want to hold a meeting, we'll even make a conference room available right at the airport. (Not one of those closet types, either.)



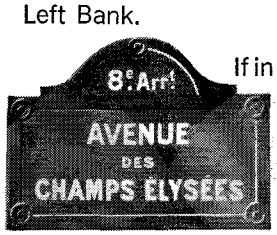
Once that's all settled, you've got Paris to look forward to. So put your papers down and enjoy yourself. Take a walk down one of the majestic boulevards, or turn into one of the quaint cobblestone streets. Stop at a café for some unforgettable pastry. See, firsthand, some of the sights you've known since you were a kid. (Like the Eiffel Tower, or the Arc de Triomphe.) Begin to pick up another culture, another language.

Send your wife on a shopping spree. Let her take a close look



at fashion before the copies are made. Give her a chance to buy some of the world's most wanted perfumes. (The tax-free prices at Orly make even expensive perfume not so expensive.)

Then go to dinner at any of the 6,000 fine restaurants and order one of Paris' incomparable wines. Later, take in the opera, the theatre, some jazz on the Left Bank.



If in the excitement of the first few days you forget about opening that branch office, at least you will have branched out yourself.

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A Traveler in Flickville

CONSIDERING the by-laws of the *hochkultur* under which they live out in the Hollywoods, I had but to mention that I was interested in the new tourist tours of the Universal Studio lot when an agent in high authority dispatched a private car to my pad at the Beverly Hilton so I could come out to see for myself.

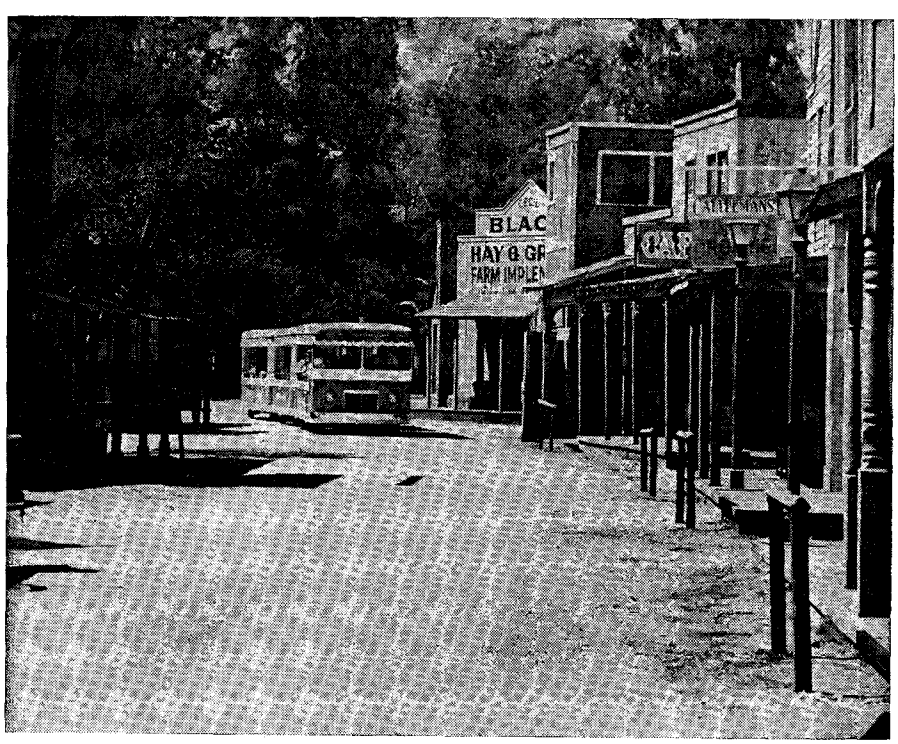
The car proved, on arrival, to be a station wagon of immense proportions driven by a very young man of unusually handsome appearance, dressed, after the local fashion, I guess, in sand-colored desert boots and pale beige windbreaker to match. "Are you an actor?" he asked as we rolled alternately over freeways and through canyons, a standard pattern of travel in the fragments of the principality known collectively as the City of the Angels. "I'm a writer," I told him, a confession that seemed to please him, for he brightened instantly. "So am I," he told me. "I have had three scripts accepted already and I'm working on a new one." I had expected him to tell me that he was an apprentice actor, a leftover from the demise of *Hawaiian Eye* or an outrider in *Have Gun, Will Travel*, or some new Dick Daring waiting only for a chance to assault the Berbers.

I was no more prepared for his answer than I was for Universal City. The city proved to be an unusual settlement that was not merely a movie lot decorated here and there with sets and stars, but a sort of metropolis with a sky-scraping building that was only slightly smaller than and reminiscent of the Seagram Building in New York. Universal City, the name of the movie lot of Universal Studios, which is owned in turn by MCA, also has its own bank, its own mayor, and a whole suburb of low, pleasant cottages called the Hacienda Area. Haciendas are inhabited by executives of MCA and/or Universal, and also by some stars who double as executives —Cary Grant, for instance. Mr. Grant, if I have the intelligence right, owns some of the pictures he makes.

Mr. Herbert Steinberg, like so many citizens of Universal City a refugee from the pavements of New York, took me in hand on behalf of MCA and told me that this metropolis of movies has a background more historical than may seem apparent at first look. The real estate encompasses a 410-acre expanse that includes both flatland and primitive hillsides overgrown with brush and woodland. It is in actuality a part of the Rancho Cahuenga de Ramirez, a grant awarded back in 1795 by Charles IV of Spain. Here, according to the flacks that work for the flicks, John C. Frémont, representing the United States, and Andres Pico, representing Mexico, signed the Treaty of Cahuenga placing the southern region of California under the sovereignty of the U.S. and consigning it to live "in a state of peace and tranquility." Just how it came to lapse from that lofty aim is not made exactly clear by the present inhabitants.

Mr. Steinberg and I had lunch in the commissary, a bright, modern hall where diners are watched over with some benevolence by lighted glass wall portraits of Tony Curtis, Doris Day, Sandra Dee, and other national heroes. The tables were crowded with cowboys, Indians, and some of the staff of *The Munsters*, that new educational half-hour featuring a new version of Frankenstein, who appeared for lunch with his traditional high forehead, moss-green face powder, and the fetching bar that protrudes through his neck. It would take too long to take his makeup off just for lunch, Mr. Steinberg assured me, but he covers his costumes with a bathrobe. We were joined by Cary Grant, considerably more formally dressed and, as far as I could discern, completely without makeup. For reasons that are confounding, he is, at his age, a man of inordinate vitality who suffuses an air of well-being, good looks, and good cheer. "An extraordinary human being," said Mr. Steinberg after Grant had left.

Universal's plan to open its lot to visitors, indeed to just plain tourists, comprehends a change of enormously revolutionary proportions. Studio lots were, at the request of stars and production chiefs who were trying to keep a shooting schedule, strictly off limits to all those without highly placed connections. When MCA took over the entire lot and its varied operations, its executives decided that the movies needed a new public image. The people who stand in line to pay $1.75 for a two-hour movie had to be educated. If they were shown the mechanics of the manufacture of the movies, perhaps they would be better disposed to part with the high prices that most of the movie palaces now charge. Moreover, if the public could be invited to participate in some of the mysteries of moviemaking—special effects, the adoration of the cult of personality, the mysteries of makeup, of stunt men, and of the use of miniatures—a new public appreciation might develop. It was with that lofty aim that MCA began regular tourist tours of Universal City in mid-July of last year. It had to plead with directors, woo stars, cajole producers, and placate the unions, but in the end the pro-tourist forces emerged triumphant, and large sightseeing cars with awning shades and open sides began rolling through the lot, crawling up and down the streets of the Hacienda suburb, rolling past the dressing rooms, invading the mock street scenes, and hunting for passing stars. Sometimes



Tourists on *The Virginian* set—pay now, pay later.

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they would stop and, taking their cue from the flashing red light, would watch an actual shooting.

The afternoon I boarded the three-car train we rolled past Cary Grant's black and gold Rolls-Royce, past Cary Grant himself, past Gene Kelly's Ford. Marlon Brando's father was sitting in a window in the Hacienda Area, a fact duly pointed out by the guide. We passed Sound Stage 12, largest of the thirty-seven sound stages and one of the largest in the world, then cruised down Dressing Room Row. It was a feast of starlit names, including the movie-lot abodes of Charlton Heston, Rock Hudson, the whole cast of *McHale's Navy*, Bobby Darin, Sandra Dee, Richard Boone, and Gregory Peck. Really, a party could die, and several ladies aboard my coach were at swoon's edge.

The tour stops for an actual look inside Doris Day's dressing room, which seemed so perfectly laid out I couldn't help but feel, suspicious Eastern slicker that I am, that Miss Day probably dresses elsewhere while the studio uses this house as a decoy to delight the rubbernecks. At any rate, it *is* fully decorated with a purple chair pulled up to the dressing table, a blue chaise longue with purple pillows taking up one corner, and pictures of her with Cary Grant, Tony Randall, and Rock Hudson peering from a frame. Miss Day's apparent preference for purple is further indicated by a glass-tasseled purple lamp and fake purple flowers. The house has a complete kitchen and is, like most stars' dressing rooms, fully equipped for an overnight stay. Stars who can raise an echo of appreciable decibels are also awarded a trailer that is moved right to the lot when the company moves out of the sound stages and into the old Spanish brushlands.

Among the technical equipment which Universal maintains and which the occupants of the tourist vans see, is the vast stock of the property department: whole collections of house façades, doors, windows, parts of prisons, whole fleets of taxis of various vintages, all in operating order, police cars, gangster cars, and one double-decker bus brought from London for *Strange Bedfellows*.

Universal City comprises a whole brownstone section of New York complete with trees festooned with plastic leaves, as well as an urban greenery that becomes Central Park for *That Funny Feeling* with Sandra Dee. A courthouse square was a judicial center for *Inherit the Wind* and also for *Bye, Bye Birdie* and *Music Man*. On its steps Gregory Peck held off a mob in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. The hut used by Cary Grant in *Father Goose* is regularly tenanted by *McHale's Navy*. A coop of live chickens, left over from *Mockingbird*, still survives.

In Universal's world one can ride right out of a Western town and into a Mexican town without border formalities. Both are paved. They have to be coated with mud when used for a scene. Alongside man-made Singapore Lake is the hut that was an abode in Bangkok for *The Ugly American*. But Singapore Lake is, if nothing else, a versatile body of water. Warner's once used it as a Russian seaport. Falls Lake, another of the great lakes of Universal City, has grass huts on stilts in one corner, but it also has a stone medieval tower used in *The War Lord*.

Halfway along in the tour the caravan crawls up a hill and tumbles into Visitors Village, a center of refreshment and exhibition for which Universal has great plans. As it is now, the high point is a flivver that will bounce up and down while a country landscape goes by on two rollers in the background. Tourists are invited to take a ride and have their pictures taken. On occasion the management also causes a pair of stunt men to propel themselves through a pair of saloon doors. There are old circus cages and leftover P-51s to climb on, not to mention that other marvel, studio rocks made of rubber and of lightweight composition that will permit a Milquetoast to move a mountain with scarcely a puff. Rubber bricks and rubber rocks are sold at a souvenir stand.

The train moves back to its terminal now, but not before it has shown off the man-made canyon used in *Spartacus* and the whole cast of *McHale's Navy* running through its lines on location, each man wrapped in a blanket against the late-afternoon California chill.

Many television shows are being made at Universal City these days, and while the guides point with some pride to the European street that was seen in *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the same neighborhood also houses the apartment building for *90 Bristol Court*, a fake set with a real swimming pool. Then there is the home of *Leave It to Beaver* and the spooky mansion of *The Munsters*, among a variety of familiar houses.

The tour ends with a demonstration of theatrical makeup by the Westmores, who generally choose some lady from Dodge City who is given the cosmetic works while the rest of the rubes look on. While the transformation is underway, visitors can dial telephones to get a series of sound effects, sit down in a small theater to see the day's rushes threading through on the same wave length that the producer uses, or repair to another souvenir counter to buy a Munster pencil or an interlocking jigsaw puzzle of Frankenstein's face.

But all this is only the beginning—only the pilot operation, as they say in these circles. Albert Dorskind, the vice president and treasurer of MCA, has great plans for making tourism on the movie lot a major operation. "We are spending two million dollars," he says, "to provide a rest and recreation area, to move earth, to divert trucks so that tourist trams can get through, to create a parking area, put in sewage and utilities." The result will be a ten-acre Hollywood visitor center, a Disneyland of the flicks where visitors will be able to participate by actually shooting scenes themselves, functioning as their own directors. They will be able to take movies in manufactured rain and fog, watch demonstrations of battles by miniature warships, see stuntmen accomplish difficult dives. Says Steinberg: "Schools will recognize this as a field trip, a true picture of the technique of making pictures." Next year Universal expects half a million visitors, will put up a 500-room hotel for the Sheratons to operate, a building that could be expanded to 1,800 rooms if the need were to show itself. Says Dorskind, "We may show such special effects as that famous W. C. Fields routine where he breaks the racked balls on the pool table and they all go into separate pockets. We'll have cars, ships, and airplanes with cycloramas behind them. A boy will be able to 'land' a jet or 'jump' from a parachute tower. There will be fun things and serious things. We'll show how the Creature from the Black Lagoon comes up from the Black Lagoon. You'll be able to shake hands with it. We are even trying to bring a limited number of tourists into the commissary where they can eat lunch alongside the stars.

"It's hard for the public to understand that ten cans of finished film can cost $10,000,000. We're going to show them." Besides industrial relations, Universal is also not losing sight of the fact that half a million visitors at $2.50 a ticket adds up to a nice box office for just letting people watch you make the product you're going to sell them later.

—Horace Sutton.

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MUSIC TO MY EARS

Bruckner Cycle III—Foss *Messiah*

THE New York Philharmonic's Bruckner cycle may or may not succeed in swelling the esteem that the composer enjoys with the orchestra's public, but it is assuredly doing good things for the reputation of its resident guest, William Steinberg. In the last concert prior to the holiday interlude, Steinberg had the problem of the Sixth Symphony to engross him, and he responded to it like a man delighted to encounter an unresolved difficulty. What he applied not only in finesse but also in insight qualified him for an OBE (Order of Bruckner Enthusiast) first class.

To be sure, he could not reduce the number of sequential repetitions it contains, nor eliminate the composer's tendency to pause on his way to the exit (double bar) with a musical equivalent of a garrulous visitor's "That reminds me." But he could, and did, alleviate the strain of the repetitions and extensions, the *codas, codettas,* and *codettalettos,* by artfully varied dynamics and subtly surprising touches of color and contrast.

More enlivening than these cosmetic touches to the face of the score was the infusion of vigor to its bloodstream and spring to its step that accrued from Steinberg's aptly chosen tempi and steady forward surge of momentum. Unquestionably Steinberg is as well aware as the next informed musician of the work's reputation as the weakest in the sequence of Bruckner's mature symphonies (Nos. 4 to 9), but this served to arouse his competitive impulse to make even more than the most of it. There isn't much that the most intrepid interpreter can do to improve the balance and proportion of the two fast movements, but Steinberg did heroically by the flowing periods of the slow movements and the long, intricate Scherzo. For that matter, Steinberg pursued the rhythmic pulse of the finale insistently to the final burst of A-major chords, and the effect on the listener was equally tonic.

A previous half-hour of the program that began with Weber's *Oberon* overture was devoted to the first hearing in this or any other American concert hall of a scherzo for piano and orchestra that bears the designation Opus 2 in Bela Bartók's catalogue. When the promised performance of 1904 failed to mature, Bartók wisely decided to withhold the score from publication. But, being dead and defenseless, he cannot longer exercise volition over the initiative of those who consider any excuse the justification for a "première." The initiative, in this case, was that of the pianist, Theodore Lettvin.

The question about the Scherzo, really, *is* not how so great a composer as Bartók could write so weak a piece as this Scherzo, but how the composer of so weak a piece could become the great Bartók? It rambles on for the better part of half an hour, adding one theme to another and resembling nothing so much as what might be called a *Budapest Concerto,* thus anticipating Richard Addinsell and his *Warsaw Concerto* by some forty years. Some of the motives are *tzigane* and some are not, but there is little connection among them, organic or otherwise. Lettvin suggests, in his program commentary, that it might have been meant to be performed in conjunction with a narration, as was Strauss's *Enoch Arden.* He presumes on Bartók's Strauss enthusiasm of that time to nominate the same story as a possible point of departure. This is dubious at best, and leaves altogether unaccountable the episode before the end which flashes the acerbic temper of the Bartók to come. However, Lettvin is on record in the same comment as characterizing the same Scherzo as "a masterpiece," so anything else would be pure logic. As a pianist rather than a commentator, Lettvin performed with abundant sense and unfailing enthusiasm, though his enthusiasm did not lead him so far as to commit the work to memory. Steinberg gave him aid, if no great comfort.

A *Messiah* by the composer of *The Song of Songs, Time Cycle,* and *The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* would be worth going some distance to hear, but what their composer, Lukas Foss, offered in his capacity as conductor of the visiting Buffalo Philharmonic was mostly the familiar Handel masterwork, which was at least worth going to Philharmonic Hall to hear. "Mostly" concerns the fact that it was given in the Mozart instrumentation that was, for years, the standard mode of presentation. More recently it has been superseded by earlier texts in a quest for authenticity; thus, by the inversion of time, it has once more become a novelty.

Given the incidence of not one but three composers—Handel, Mozart, and Foss—this *Messiah* was less than extraordinary, but it was orderly and well phrased, tonally in keeping with the sweetness of sound and blend of sonorities that Mozart imparted to the work of his great predecessor. Where the presentation came into conflict with the highest kind of order was in the choice of proportions that decreed the use of a sizable chorus—in the neighborhood of 250—against an orchestra utilizing relatively few double basses and cellos. To be sure, there were more bodies than mature voices in the ensemble drawn from the students of the State University College at Fredonia, New York, but it was, nevertheless, a rather blanketing sound for the soloists to contend against, especially as they tended, in the persons of Bethany Beardslee, soprano; Stanley Kolk, tenor; and Lillian Garabedian, mezzo; to restricted volume. William Wolff, bass, was more ample in quantity, but short of range for "The People that Walked in Darkness." Measured against the size of the community that produced it, Foss's effort was testimony to hard work and a taste for conquering difficulties. In terms of *Messiah qua Messiah,* it was tonally undernourished, more earnest than expressive.

Seven different audiences might have had seven different opinions of the Metropolitan Opera during a recent week, ranging from mediocre to distinguished. On the Saturday afternoon that offered Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's final Marschallin in *Der Rosenkavalier,* there were some sustained stretches that approached distinction. Some of the best were in Act III, though it sagged sadly toward its end, where Octavian might have sued Lisa della Casa for non-support. On the preceding night, even moments of distinction were hard to find in Offenbach's *Contes d'Hoffmann.* This was a first venture with this score in several Met seasons and gave particular prominence to William Dooley's endeavor with the four baritone roles. Dooley has not yet acquired the acting magnetism or the virtuosity in characterization such a grand slam demands, and his voice gave least returns where it was most wanted, in "Scintille, Diamant." Dooley's aptitudes are likable and his purpose is admirable, but he is walking a narrow margin of security in this kind of demanding task. Silvio Varviso's conducting tended to confuse haste with high spirits, and the ladies (aside from Lucine Amara as Antonia) were a size small for the vocal demands of their roles in the Metropolitan, this including Jeanette Scovotti as Olympia, Biserka Cvejic as Giulietta, and Janis Martin as Nicklausse. The Hoffmann was Nicolai Gedda, who pursued the uneven tenor of his way more than of Offenbach's.

—IRVING KOLODIN.

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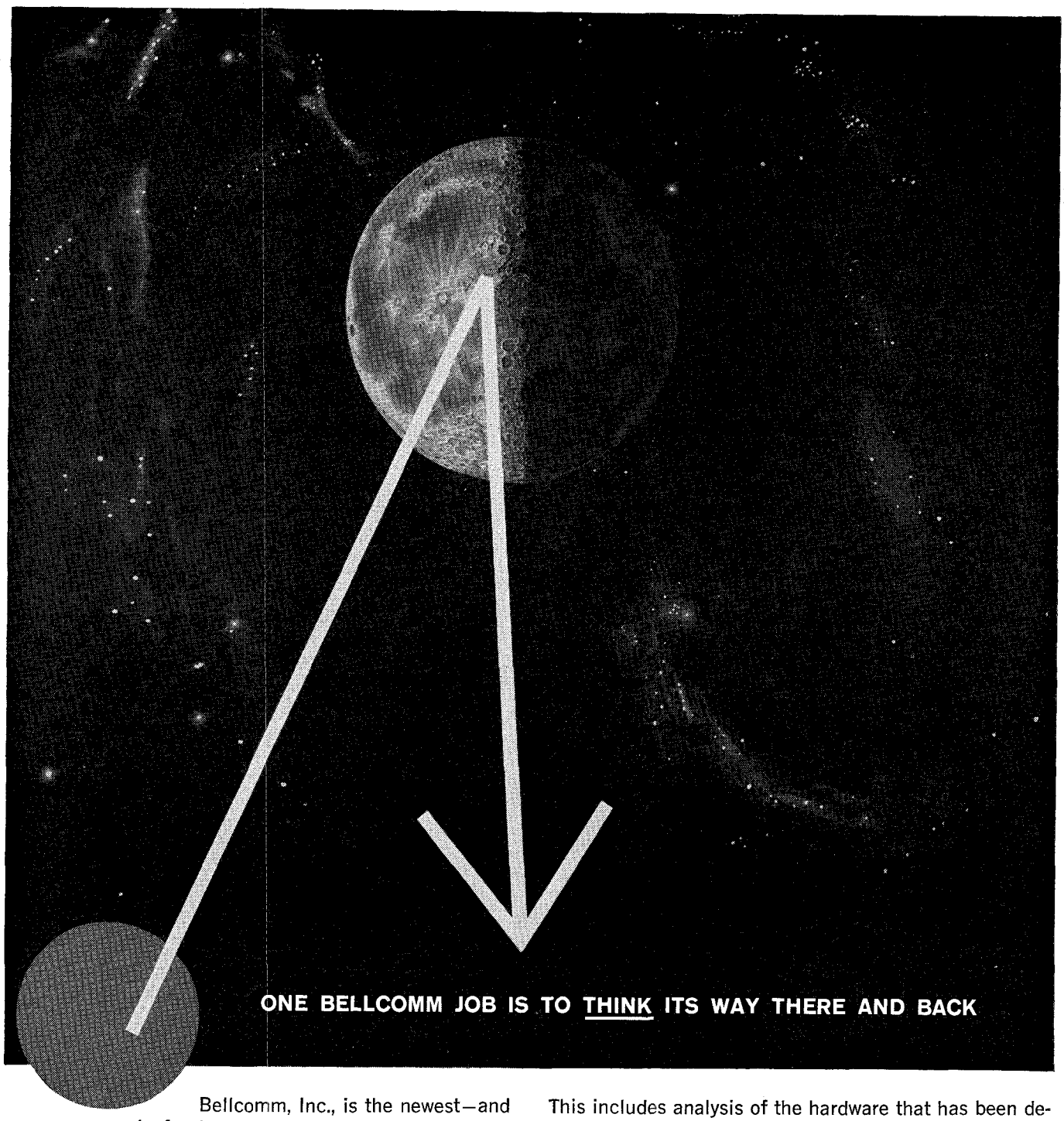

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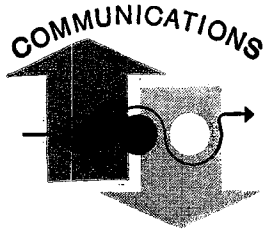
COMMUNICATIONS

Communications Editor: RICHARD L. TOBIN



EDITORIAL
By Richard L. Tobin 65

LETTERS TO THE COMMUNICATIONS EDITOR 66

FM: RADIO'S PROBLEM CHILD
By John Tebbel 67

SHOULD EVERY WRITER HAVE AN AGENT?
By Paul R. Reynolds 69

MADISON AVENUE: WHEELING AND DEALING ON THE COAST
By George Lazarus 71

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE BUSINESS
By Norman L. Cahners 72

PUBLIC RELATIONS: ENDING ANOTHER COLD WAR
By L. L. L. Golden 73

BOOKS IN COMMUNICATIONS: STRATEGY FOR A COUNTERATTACK
By James F. Fixx 74

Hail to the Cliche

THE CLICHE has long been part and parcel of print journalism in the United States. Half a century ago no one simply died; invariably he "crossed the dark river" because the "grim reaper" had come to call. In more recent years the phrases "crack down on" and "bold new" had their vogue and were passed by for other clichés. A specially programed Associated Press computer, stuffed with phrases found with great frequency in news reports, now tells us that the latest and most prominent journalistic cliché is the word "hailed." Possibly it's a hopeful sign of the times that such an optimistic word took first prize.

AP's cliché-catching contest was conducted by Dean Wayne A. Danielson of the School of Journalism, University of North Carolina. Using a Univac 1105 computer in his survey, Dean Danielson finally reduced the number of tired, overworked words and phrases in AP wire copy to 469. These were programed into the computer. Then almost 400,000 words of new AP copy were fed into the computer. The computer whirred for an hour and eighteen minutes and came up with "hailed" as the cliché of the year.

A regular member of the AP's United Nations staff, A. I. Goldberg, was then assigned by the news service to study the wire service's clichés. Mr. Goldberg reports: "We have evidence that 'hailed' is abused on copy desks, too. An Eastern newspaper of November 5 used the word in four headlines on facing pages—U.S. election results were 'hailed' in Great Britain, Russia, Brazil, and Italy."

Runner-up cliché of 1964 was the phrase "violence flared," while "flatly denied" ran a close third. Other common clichés included "racially troubled (or divided)," "marched (or went) to the polls," "jam-packed," "in the wake of," "no immediate comment," "cautious (or guarded)," "usually reliable (or informed) sources," "backlash (or frontlash)," "kickoff" (for begin), "grinding crash," "confrontation," "oil-rich nation," "-wise" (as in "percentage-wise"), "limped into port," "gutted by fire," "death and destruction," "riot-torn," "strife-torn," and "tinder-dry woodlands."

AP's remarkable campaign to erase hackneyed phrases has been applauded on several news desks across the country, and we wish to add our congratulations to Sam Blackman and his intrepid news team. Arthur R. Bertelson of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* suggests "a real effort to banish all clichés forever." Philip T. Bangsberg of the American Broadcasting Company sees quick results, adding, "I must admit the wire does look a lot sharper of late." Cruise Palmer of the Kansas City *Star* has forwarded sixteen nominations by *Star* staffers plus forty-two bromides from the *Star*'s style book and comments: "Your cliché contest has real merit for interest and better writing."

We wish some force in American journalism would now attack headline clichés, some of which go back so far we can't remember ever having not seen them in print. The word "probe" has, for instance, served to our knowledge at least three generations of headline writers and by now any idea of its original medical meaning is lost. Police forever "nab" suspects

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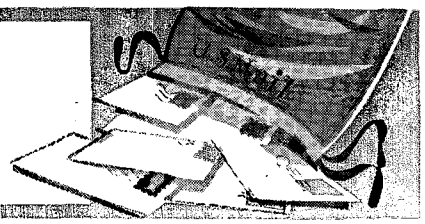
and recover "gems" (jewels) in their irrevocable "net," where upon said felons face "grilling," after which they will surely "sing." When unfortunates are grilled by a Senatorial committee, however, they face a "quiz" and if someone in public office retires or leaves of his own volition (usually for more pay) he "quits" his post, which has always sounded to us as though he had deserted his family, his trust, and was at the very least a treasonable blackguard. Children are seldom children to headline writers; they are too often "tots," but "kids" is for some reason less seldom used, though it actually counts half a headline unit shorter. The Hearst papers love to use "Russ" for anything pertaining to the USSR and, in the somewhat arbitrary Hearst grammar and syntax, "Russ" can be followed by either a singular or plural verb.

There is a fundamental reason, of course, why the cliché is strongly entrenched in American headline writing: that reason is space. Headlines run from eight or nine characters per line to forty or more, and the shorter and larger they are the more difficult it is to report a news story without resorting to "probe" and "nab" and "tot" and "quiz." The British copyreader has a much easier life. We remember once having seen a single-line head in the London *Times*, "An Occurrence in Surrey," which, our startled eyes found, led into the most gruesome axe murder in memory, the head of the victim having been found in Croydon and the trunk in Wimbledon, hence the use of the generic "Surrey" rather than a more specific place name. The British journalist always has subtle reason for his understatement.

In any case, the cliché is here to stay, in print or electronic journalism, and all hail to it. We Americans simply won't stand for esoteric headline writing. We're direct people and we like to be told things straight out. If the pressing delimitation of a headline count forces our copyreaders to use telegraphic and often inaccurate synonyms, at least we come to know the headline writer's shorthand. He and we have established a splendid liaison by now, and all the AP surveys in the world won't alter an unerasable American tradition.

—R.L.T.

Letters to the Communications Editor



Spelling Lessons

JOHN TEBBEL'S DESCRIPTION of the "minor miracle" performed by our "bullpen" in "Putting the *Times* to Bed" [*SR*, Dec. 12] is excellent. One note might be added. A description of the front-page dummy, illustrated in the piece, is put on the wire by the news services every night. This is at the request of editors all over the country who want to know how the *Times* is playing the news. Two errors should also be noted. Mr. Ochs, grandfather of today's *Times*, spelled his name "Adolph" rather than "Adolf." And our assistant picture editor is John Dugan, not Dubin.

IRVIN S. TAUBKIN,
Promotion Director,
New York Times.

New York, N.Y.

I ENJOYED very much John Tebbel's "Putting the *Times* to Bed." The description was so vivid that I felt as if I were making the visit. The fact that the *Times* would hold or kill advertising in favor of news was new to me. The experienced personnel and comprehensive reporting certainly justify the *Times*'s being a newspaper of record.

JAMES R. MONTGOMERY.

Louisville, Ky.

Unlikely Prospect

I THINK you are being remarkably obtuse about the mechanism of TV programing [*SR*, Dec. 12]. A popular program (even worse, two of them!) driving home the fact that sexual promiscuity is causing 1,500 new cases of venereal disease daily might give promiscuity a bad name. You note that sex is one of the main commodities on TV without making the obvious connection. All the deodorants, mouthwashes, perfumes, razors, and various hair goos are sold on the premise that they will make promiscuity possible. Only the slightest and occasional lip service is given to the idea that kissing should be limited to people beloved. The idea is to attract any man—any woman—and start sex play at sight. Where would the advertisers be if sexual morality or even common decency should raise its ugly head? Have you noticed any cigarette manufacturer advertising that smoking just might cause cancer?

AGATHA MCDELOP.

Lomita, Calif.

Mr. Whitney at Colby

BY PROVIDING a forum and implied praise ("*SR* is privileged to reprint his remarks"), in the issue of December 12, you indicate acceptance of the thesis and the author, Mr. John Hay Whitney. And by doing so you are guilty by association of lacking critical insight and failure to provide a standard of critical integrity.

Mr. Whitney displays his lack of critical standards—which is a great deficiency of our cultural environment—when he proclaims a work of Picasso to be ". . . not a generation ahead of the work we saw when I was a boy. It is a century ahead. . . ," while in a more perspicacious book review (page 46), in a quotation attributed to Picasso himself (whom I take to be a more legitimate critic of the work of Picasso), the painter says, "I am only a public entertainer who has understood *his times* and has exhausted the best he could the imbecility, the vanity, the cupidity of his contemporaries."

And this basic lack of insight of Mr. Whitney's is confined not only to painting (where we may assume he is an amateur commentator) but also to journalism (where we are to assume that he is a practicing professional). The proper concern of the press is not to write " . . . the real poetry of everyday life" but to inform the public in such a manner that there truly exists freedom of the press. Of course we have heard the outcry from the journalists of managed news from the government. And Mr. Whitney is not so naïve as to dismiss the press itself from any culpability in this regard. But the intelligent critical reader is aware that in almost every instance only one side of the story is being heard, regardless of who is managing the news. If Mr. Whitney were to advocate a truly innovative or courageous proposal, such as printing rebuttal articles alongside the bylined report on every major controversial issue, whether political, economic, or ideological, then perhaps we could take hope that those responsible in some degree for educating the public are not abdicating that responsibility through sheer intellectual incapacity but are striving to be worthy of the majestic mandate given the press in our Constitution.

RONALD E. WOOD.

Santa Monica, Calif.

IN the December 12 issue of *Saturday Review* did the juxtaposition of the title and byline so overawe the editor who supplied the explanatory note that he bungled the name of Colby's martyr to the freedom of the press? The young newspaper publisher who was killed by a mob in Alton, Illinois, was Elijah Parish Lovejoy, not Elijah Hay Lovejoy.

RAYMOND SPINNEY.

Rochester, N.H.

Calling the Doctor

THE ARTICLE by L. L. L. Golden entitled "Sears, Roebuck Calls the Doctor" [*SR*, Dec. 12] was an excellent factual report of the Community Medical Assistance Program of the Sears-Roebuck Foundation. I would like to correct what I am sure is a typographical error. In the next to the last paragraph discussing the results of our program, the article stated that the program has brought

(Continued on page 75)

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FM: RADIO'S PROBLEM CHILD

By JOHN TEBBEL

WITH its usual high-minded intentions, the Federal Communications Commission in a recent ruling has raised anew the unresolved problem of what to do about radio's troublesome stepchild, FM broadcasting. Unfortunately, it has, at the same time, precipitated a controversy not calculated to enhance the Commission's popularity with the broadcasting industry.

On its face, the ruling appears innocuous enough. It proposes that by August 13, 1965, every AM-FM station in cities of more than 100,000 must program separately at least 50 per cent of the material on its FM outlet, rather than the duplicated simultaneous AM-FM broadcasting that is now the rule on nearly all stations. The reasoning behind the ruling is that AM and FM constitute two separate facilities, and therefore it is both wasteful and illogical to permit them to broadcast the same program material.

But the intent goes deeper. The FCC means, first of all, to increase the number of radio voices within a given market. If, for example, a market is currently served by twenty AM-FM stations, the new ruling will in effect double the area's voices.

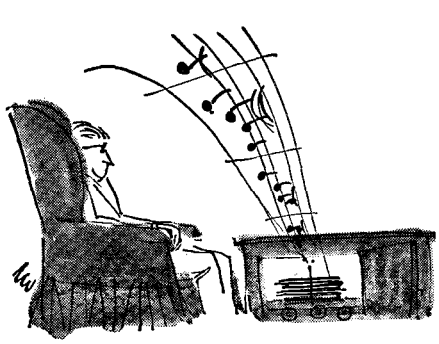
Obviously it will be expensive for an AM-FM station to develop separate programing on its FM channel, even at a 50 per cent figure, and when it has done so, what the FCC intends to do next—it couched the warning in the reassuring rhetoric of "long-range goal"—is to separate FM from AM ownership. After they have gone to the expense of developing separate programing, so the station owners fear, when license renewal time comes around the FCC may transfer into other, competitive hands the FM station they have built as the result of the ruling. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent the Commission from taking a further step and separating TV station ownership from either or both AM and FM, in cases where all three are owned by the same group.

Embedded in this controversy is the basic question of what FM's position in the broadcasting industry ought to be, as opposed to what it actually is, and what it may become. Here the listener's viewpoint and the industry's diverge.

For the listener, FM (frequency modulation) is distinguished from AM (amplitude modulation) by two broad characteristics—the quality of its signal, and its freedom from static caused by weather or local interference. To the country dweller, FM means clear transmission in summer storms and, during all seasons, unwavering signal strength at night, when the AM signal fades in and out. To owners of high-fidelity components, it also means sound of much better quality, because the FM signal transmits a wider spectrum.

YET FM is not an unmixed blessing. For one thing, its signal range is limited by the horizon and is increasingly uncertain at the outer limits. In the city, FM signals are likely to be received better in a building than they are in the open, particularly in a moving car, where they may be blacked out or at least interfered with from time to time by intervening structures, or those reflections of signals which cause the familiar "ghosts" on television. As for the high quality of FM sound, it can be no better than the tuners and amplifiers that capture it and the speakers that reproduce it. Consequently, such phrases as "stereo sound" or "high-fidelity FM sound" are meaningless when they are applied to small AM-FM radios or to any set not capable of reproducing the full range of sound. True high-fidelity equipment will reproduce from 20,000 to 25,000 cycles per second. The average commercial set is capable of no more than 8,000. All that glitters in the sales pitch as "high-fi" and "stereo" is not FM gold.

Perhaps even more fundamental is the attitude of the public toward FM broadcasting. Given the above facts, it clearly means nothing to most radio listeners whether they are getting their transmission in FM or not. Radio programing is divided, for the most part, among rock-'n'-roll or country music, "wall-to-wall" background music, and endless talk, all of which sounds much the same on FM as it does on AM. Static-free transmission is the only advantage. The small percentage remaining is devoted to the output of the "good music" stations, which a relatively minor portion of the total audience believes is the chief reason for FM's existence. Through recordings primarily, FM has brought serious music to a larger and more devoted audience than ever before, with the best available quality of sound and—since the recent addition of FM stereo multiplexing—with the added illusion of reality.



This intellectual approach to FM has little standing with the industry. One of the few exceptions is Station WABC, in New York, which programs its rock-'n'-roll simultaneously on AM and FM except for six splendid evening hours between 6 P.M. and midnight, prime time by any measurement, when the FM band broadcasts only serious music. Once a week it even does live stereo, with its own string-quartet, the only New York station to do so.

BUT broadcasting is a business and the industry looks upon good music stations as the comparative low-income producers they are. The only important fact about programing, from the usual management standpoint, is how much time can be sold to advertisers. Serious music broadcasting suffers from two disadvantages. The first is that not many people hear it, and thus the size of its market is limited; the second is that the musical selections are too long, compared with the two or three minutes of a pop record, and thus it is not possible to insert as many commercials in an hour's program. Station owners would not be at all reluctant to insert commercials between movements of a symphony or a concerto if they were compelled to go into serious music programing on a larger scale, but the need is not likely to arise, at least soon.

Those who think the FCC's new ruling forecasts an improvement in the direction of better music, or more intellectual shows, are barking up the wrong antenna. What it means is more of the same of whatever the station is now broadcasting, except that for 50 per cent of the time it will not be broadcast simultaneously by AM and FM. Thus the FCC's new voices will not provide diversity of content, but only a multiplication of outlets.

And this will not be accomplished

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without some anguish and potential danger for the stations. For example, if the ruling were extended to stations in communities below 100,000, the expense of new FM programing would be enough to put a small station out of business. Paradoxically, the diversity that the FCC seeks is most prevalent in cities over 100,000; it is needed most in the smaller towns, where the financial risk is greatest.

THERE is also, ironically, the possibility that good music programing will be hurt by the ruling. The advertisers who have been enabling many of these "quality" stations to show a modest profit in recent years may be compelled to stretch their dollars farther over an enlarged FM market, thus weakening and perhaps even eliminating some marginal operations. The greatest danger may well be to the small FM-only stations, which perform most of the good music transmission. Any substantial loss of advertising in this segment of the industry would be disastrous. (On the other hand, of course, all FM stations may benefit by getting a larger proportion of a larger audience.)

It would be unfortunate if FM were not to benefit ultimately by the FCC's cautious stretching toward unclearly defined horizons, because the industry's problem child has had a difficult time of it ever since Major Armstrong brought it on the scene. For years it was no more than a novelty, or the toy of the hi-fi bugs. Then, a relatively short time ago, it began to move under the stimulation of such pushers as the WQXR Network, the Concert Network, and the university and other educational stations, not to forget Pacifica's nonprofit ventures. FM has grown remarkably during the past decade, has created its own audience, at least in the intellectual sense, and has succeeded in fighting off those who would have abandoned it, changed it, or severely curtailed it. The FCC has been ambivalent in its attitude toward FM; the big commercial broadcasters have not played a major part in its development; and most of the listening public has either been indifferent to or ignorant of it.

Estimates of FM's future appear to depend on who is doing the estimating. Last year broadcasting circles were agitated by a study emanating from the Harvard Business School purporting to show that FM was growing so rapidly that it would catch up with and surpass AM radio in all revenues by the early 1970s. By 1973, according to this projection, FM radio revenue would reach $374,000,000, compared with AM's $500,000,000, and a year later would go ahead.

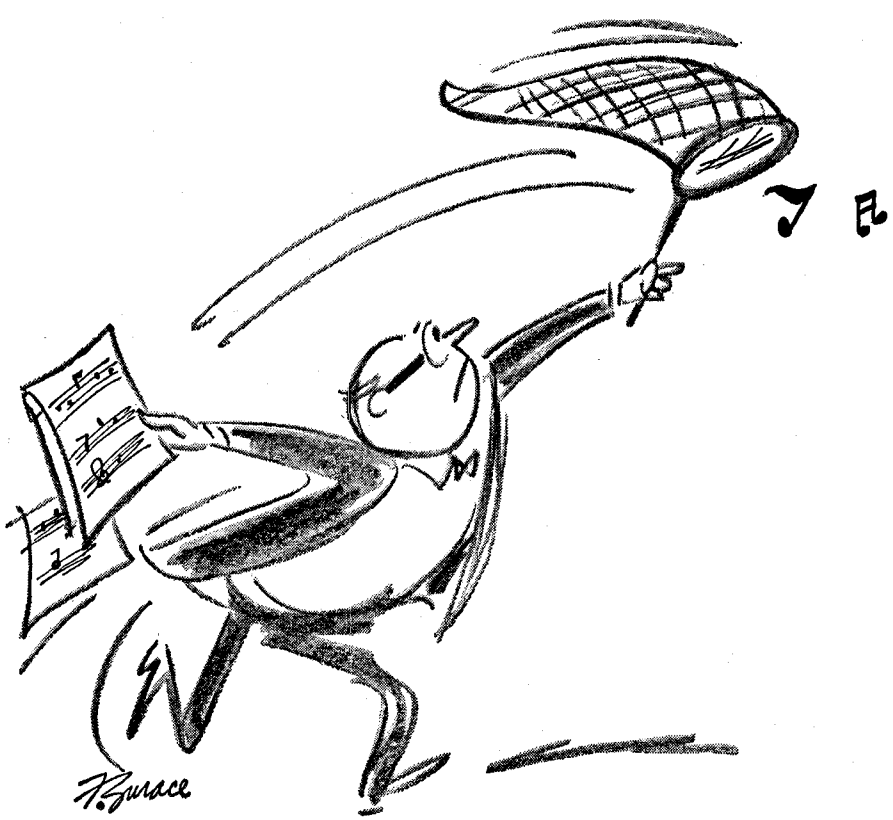
WHILE the report was produced by a Harvard expert, it was not an official study by the Business School. Its impetus came from the National Association of FM Broadcasters, hardly an impartial sponsor. The results of a later study in thirty-five markets by Pulse, a media research organization, have never been released, possibly because they were less favorable to FM broadcasting. Accurate statistical analysis is difficult, in any event, as far as producing any meaningful figures is concerned. FM-only stations do not have the same statistical profile as the FM divisions of AM-FM stations. Further, when it comes to discussing sets sold and sets in use, the figures are particularly misleading because the very term "FM set" can mean equally a $500 high quality FM tuner-amplifier or a little transistorized AM-FM hand-held radio, which no one would pretend had any other use than the elimination of static.

Nor are the advertising figures conclusive. When revenues are calculated, do they apply to AM-FM stations, FM-only broadcasters, or both? Again, the statistics are likely to be compiled in the way that will best serve whoever is doing the compiling.

In the present state of radio broadcasting, it can be safely recorded that there are about 200 million AM radios in the United States (or one and a fraction for every citizen) and between 35 and 40 million FM sets. Manufacturers are making more and more sets with both bands, so that by 1967 it is projected that annual sales of FM and AM-FM receivers will surpass the sales of AM-only sets, and a year later will reach a total of 11.4 million, as compared with 9.2 million for the latter. There are already more than 1,100 licensed and operating FM stations, and their number is increasing steadily. About 555 AM-FM stations are already programing separately, and as of last July 1 more than 300 stations were broadcasting stereophonically in FM multiplex, which many observers see as the wave of the future.

Only when it comes to the all-important matter of advertising revenue do the statistics become controversial and the blue skies begin to cloud over. Most broadcasting experts appear to believe that eventually FM is bound to equal and surpass AM in revenue, but given its present technical and commercial limitations, they are not nearly as optimistic about the time it will take as the enthusiasts of the NAFMB, who naturally are inclined to see victory around the next corner. More cautious estimates place the triumph of FM as much as two or three decades away, barring unexpected technical breakthroughs of one kind or another. As for programing, whether carried entirely or partially by FM transmission, it will continue to represent, by and large, the lowest common denominator of popular taste in a mass audience.

Meanwhile, radio's problem child continues to have its growing pains, and the FCC may soon have another hot controversy on its hands.



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Should Every Writer Have an Agent?

By PAUL R. REYNOLDS

ONE OF THE curious phenomena of the world of the written word is the literary agent. The legitimate agent handles an author's business on a 10 per cent commission basis. He solicits buyers for the author's manuscript, negotiates contracts, collects the money, and remits 90 per cent to the author. If the agent fails to sell the author's manuscript, the agent receives nothing. If the author's manuscript earns a great deal of money, the agent receives an enormous commission. The author and agent are in partnership; as the author prospers, the agent prospers.

In the case of the novel, a contract for publication in the United States is the first essential. The agent may have to approach many publishers. Upon finding one who wants to publish the book, the agent negotiates the terms of publication. The agent does not give ultimatums. The publisher wants to keep the author happy. The publisher also wants to satisfy the agent for the sake of future business. At the same time the publisher cannot be pushed too much. Publishing is a risky business, and the publisher wants to make, not lose, money.

Of course the agent tries to get as high an advance and royalty as the publisher will stand for. With a first novel the minimum advance would probably be $1,000, and the maximum probably $3,500. Minimum royalty would be 10 per cent on the first 10,000 copies sold, and 12½ per cent on all further copies sold. Maximum royalty would be 10 per cent on the first 5,000 copies sold, 12½ per cent on the next 5,000, and 15 per cent thereafter. The publisher may want a percentage of the proceeds from any sale of the motion picture, first serial, and translation rights. The agent will try to retain these rights for the author, giving the publisher little or if possible no interest in them.

Once the contract for book publication has been agreed upon and signed, the agent will try, if the manuscript seems at all suitable, to sell the first serial rights. This is the right for a magazine to publish the novel in part or in its entirety before publication in book form. Such magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post, McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal,* and *Good Housekeeping* run a few novels serially each year, paying from $5,000 to $20,000 for a first novel (much larger prices at times for a novel by a well-known author). *Redbook* runs complete in each issue a short novel for which it pays a minimum price of $5,000. These novels may be a cut version of what the author wrote and of what will be published as a book. Some magazines will publish an extract or chapter from a novel before book publication. The agent's job is to try to interest a magazine in the novel and, if the magazine wants to buy, to try to get as much money as possible. However, only five or six first novels get published in a magazine of any importance each year.

The agent will try to sell the picture rights to a novel. Here he may operate through a Hollywood agent, the Hollywood agent and the New York agent splitting the 10 per cent commission. The importance of Hollywood is exaggerated. Fewer than 5 per cent of published first novels are sold to Hollywood. Theoretically the price could be $50,000 or more, and there are a few cases where such prices have been obtained for first novels. But the most an agent can get may be as low as $5,000. Television is a possibility for a few novels, bringing perhaps $2,500, perhaps a bit more.

Serial and motion picture rights to a first novel are rarely of value. Publication in England and in translation is common. More than half of the first novels published in America are published in England; more than one-third of them are published in one or more countries in Europe. Advances against royalty from an English publisher run from £100 to £500 ($280 to $1,400). Advances from the continent run anywhere from $250 to $1,500 per country, such advances being against royalty. Contracts with foreign publishers are similar to contracts with American publishers, except that they are not full of legal mumbo-jumbo. They are usually drawn up by agents and they are comprehensible. In many foreign countries there also may be a serial sale or a book club or paperback edition.

The agent usually markets these rights through subagents. The total commission is usually 20 per cent, 10 per cent for the subagent and 10 per cent for the American agent.

Every contract negotiated is subject to the author's approval. The contract with the American publisher is always signed by the author. Other contracts may be signed by the author or the agent, depending upon how a particular agent works, but the author has to approve in advance.

The agent's labor may be limited to that of a salesman, a bargainer, and/or a businessman. The agent may be called upon for advice or decisions on the following:

- What the author should write.
- Cutting and changes in the manuscript.
- The selection of an American publisher.
- Title, jacket, and presentation of the novel.
- Advice of a general nature as to regulating income in a completely legal fashion in order to keep income taxes to a minimum.

Often the agent is asked not merely to advise but to decide. For example, the author may leave the selection of the American publisher to the agent. Selection of English and foreign publishers is nearly always left to the agent.

THERE are thirty-five agents in the Society of Authors' Representatives, the legitimate agents' association. All of the members are believed to be financially responsible and competent. There are only one or two small agents eligible for membership in the society who do not belong. Each of the six largest agents represents 150 or more professional writers; each has a staff of from six to fifteen people, each takes in commissions ranging from $100,000 a year to $250,000.

A clear distinction should be made between the legitimate agents, the members of the Society of Authors' Representatives, and the pseudo-agents, people who call themselves agents, people who advertise in *The Writer's Digest* and other writer's magazines. These pseudo-agents in most cases make their chief income from fees. The pseudo-agent will not read a manuscript unless he is paid perhaps $50 in advance. He may charge further fees for editorial advice. These agents often run testimonial advertising about the wonderful things they have done for authors. Many of these pseudo-agents are editorially incompetent. Many of them sell little or nothing. Many of them are unknown to editors and pub-

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lishers. These sharks milk a fantastic amount of money from authors.

Some pseudo-agents try to persuade an author to pay a vanity publisher to print his manuscript, in which case the author pays the publisher for publishing his work and seldom, if ever, gets any return since books published by vanity publishers are not bought by booksellers. If the author agrees, the vanity publisher will then pay the pseudo-agent $250 or more for the introduction.

Often the author of a first novel submits his manuscript directly to a couple of publishers, receives rejections, and then sends the manuscript to an agent. Such an author does this for one or more of several reasons. For example, he

1. Feels that he has offered his manuscript to the wrong publishers, and that an agent will be able to select the right one.
2. Wonders if the publishers read the manuscript. The manuscript was returned in each case with a printed rejection slip, and could have been returned unread. The author believes the agent will get his manuscript read.
3. Believes that an agent, a salesman, could do a selling job and persuade the publisher to publish—something the author feels incapable of doing.
4. Lives at a distance from New York City. It may cost him $6 or more to forward a manuscript to a publisher and pay for its return trip. Also, time is wasted getting a manuscript back and forth through the mails.
5. Dislikes the unpleasantness, almost shock, of getting the manuscript back. It is not easy to take rejections serenely. The agent will serve as a buffer.
6. Wonders why the publisher does not criticize the author's manuscript and tell him how to improve it. The author hopes that an agent can either criticize it himself or induce a publisher to criticize constructively.

The agent is of little help to these writers. The author may not have chosen the most suitable publishers for his novel, but this is a matter of judgment and degree, and an agent may not select the most suitable publishers either. If the manuscript is offered widely enough, No. 1 should be solved automatically.

As for No. 2, the publisher does read all manuscripts offered him. It is true that the editor-in-chief does not read them unless first readers recommend further readings. However, first readers are looking for good manuscripts. A book good enough to be published may be rejected by the editor-in-chief for policy or other reasons, but it will not be rejected by the first readers; it will be recommended. Authors sometimes paste two pages together in the middle of a manuscript. When the manuscript is returned with the two pages still pasted together, the author may be convinced that his work has not been read. He is mistaken. It has been read. The first reader may have just skipped the two pasted together pages, or the reader may have only read the first fifty pages and then returned the manuscript. One does not have to eat all of a rotten apple to know that it is rotten.

With regard to No. 3, there is little high-pressure salesmanship in the writing business. A manuscript sells itself. The fourth is a valid reason for using an agent but an unimportant one. As for No. 5, an agent does soften the jolt of rejections, but ultimately the author must be informed of the disagreeable fact. Finally, the agent is unlikely to get constructive criticism for the author. Constructive criticism is always difficult and often impossible to make. A publisher is not a schoolteacher. Neither is an agent.

Most authors of first novels who try to obtain the services of a literary agent do so for the wrong reason. What are the right reasons? An agent can be of value to the author of a first novel only if the novel is valuable in the market place. Here is the record of three first novels handled by a legitimate literary agent:

The Great Auk, by Allen Eckert (published October 1963).

First serial rights sold to *Reader's Digest* for $15,000 before being offered to any book publisher.

Declined by publisher No. 1 in two business days.

Declined by publisher No. 2 in thirteen business days.

Accepted by Little, Brown & Company within fifteen business days.

Terms of contract: Advance $3,000, royalty of 10 per cent first 7,500 copies, 12½ per cent next 2,500 copies, 15 per cent thereafter.

Sales to bookstores and libraries, 8,487 copies. Sold in paperback for $10,000 advance.

Sales not related to book contract: England $1,680, Germany $3,000.

The Ordeal of Major Grigsby, by John Sherlock (published March 1964).

Offered to one and only one publisher, William Morrow & Company, which accepted in two business days.

Terms of contract: Advance $3,000, royalty of 10 per cent on first 5,000 copies, 12 per cent on next 5,000 copies, 15 per cent thereafter.

Sales to bookstores and libraries

(*Continued on page* 75)

"I'm Simpson J. Hammond III, president of the Glenview Board of Trade, chief stockholder of the Unitex Corporation of America, member of the Master's Club, the Century Club, the Grolier Society—and I am NOT the hindmost!"

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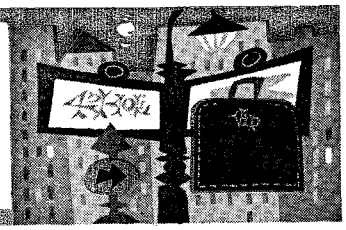
Madison Avenue



Wheeling and Dealing on the Coast

LOS ANGELES.

IN THIS city, one of the biggest catch-alls of autos in the country, there seems to be as much wheeling and dealing off the expressways as on them. They tell the story in this striving advertising community about the company that sent out questionnaires to 250 agencies, seeking to shop around to promote its new product billing $150,000 a year in advertising. The company selected fifty finalists, then collected ideas and information on marketing the product from the contenders, and finally decided not to choose an agency.

This story probably typifies the situation in Los Angeles today regarding the sometimes unethical approaches of companies with small advertising budgets and the competition among hungry agencies—big and small—soliciting accounts. "Competition, in a word, is excruciating," observes Marvin Cantz, a partner of Tilds & Cantz, a medium-sized Los Angeles agency. "We often find ourselves locking horns with the giants for the smaller-sized accounts."

Competition is so keen that it's not unusual to spot some of advertising's biggest names soliciting an account billing $200,000 to $300,000. (In contrast, a big agency in New York or Chicago would probably not consider a client with an account billing less than $500,000 or even $750,000.) McCann-Erickson thought it necessary to bring out Marion Harper, Jr., Interpublic chairman, two years ago to help in its solicitation for the $300,000 Avocado Advisory Board account.

Every Los Angeles agency has to face up to the economics of the market and to the limited number of major advertisers (or companies for that matter) headquartered here. Only one firm, Carnation Company, with home offices in Los Angeles, spends over $10,000,000 a year for advertising in commissionable media, though three other companies, Mattel, Purex, and Schick Safety Razor, are close to that annual investment.

A report by *Media Agencies Clients*, Beverly Hills-based national advertising journal, shows that the top thirty advertisers of the West spent slightly more than $131,000,000 in media in 1963—a respectable average but hardly comparable with the big billings in New York and Chicago. Only fourteen of this elite group of advertisers are in the Los Angeles area.

The best guess is that there are at least 500 agencies serving the metropolitan Los Angeles area, with no more than thirty shops doing over $1,000,000 in billing for clients. There are only two shops billing in the $15,000,000-to-$20,000,000-a-year range: the Los Angeles office of Erwin Wasey, and Carson/Roberts, a home-bred agency. "We just don't have any of the real big boys like General Motors or the tobacco accounts headquartered out here," comments Kai Jorgensen, chairman of Hixson & Jorgensen, the second biggest locally based agency. "The big dollars are back East." And Jack Smock, president of Smock, Debnam & Waddell, looks at it this way: "People talk about the opportunities in the West, but the opportunities for agencies are in New York and Chicago. That's where the smokestacks are."

There are few Los Angeles admen who dispute the sentiments voiced by Jorgensen and Smock. But the attitude is hardly a negative one for the future. There is a widespread feeling and hope on Wilshire Boulevard, the advertising row of Los Angeles, that some of the firms in the area will blossom into big advertisers. "You hope for that one account, or even a product, where the advertiser will spend substantially," said Robert Humphreys, executive vice president in charge of Grey Advertising's Beverly Hills office. "You have to grow your own accounts." Louis E. Scott, senior vice president and general manager of Foote, Cone & Belding's Los Angeles office, expresses the same feeling: "Agencies," he said, "are opportunity-minded, looking for that new product which will be big billing some day."

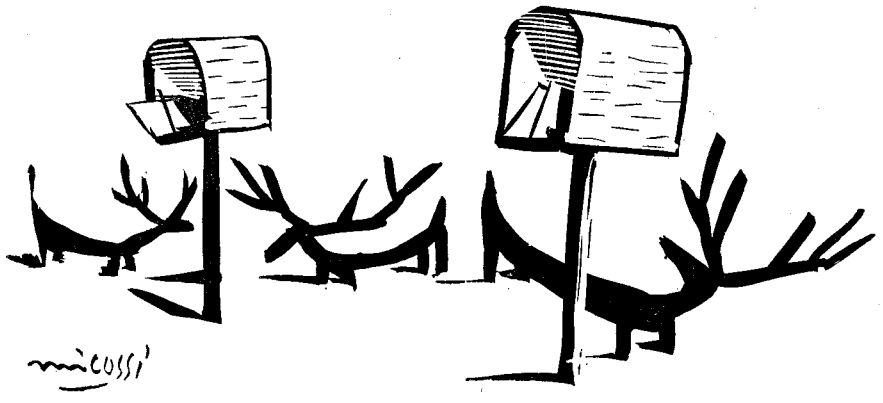
The most outstanding example of the "hot" account is Mattel, the Hawthorne, California, toy maker, which has enjoyed spectacular growth. In the last decade, its sales multiplied twentyfold to $100,000,000 a year in 1964. When Carson/Roberts, its agency, took over the account in 1954 Mattel's total consumer and trade promotion was a modest $150,000. The agency, certainly the most creative shop in Los Angeles, now works on a $9,000,000 annual advertising budget, an investment that is bound to be expanded with increased volume.

There is nothing to match the Mattel success story in the Los Angeles market or in the toy industry. But in the dog-eat-dog detergents business, Purex has slugged it out successfully with competition. The firm has posted a good sales score by broadening its line of products. Sales rose 27 per cent to $161,000,000 for the fiscal year ended last June 30. As a result, its promotion has been climbing to a point where Purex is close to the $10,000,000 mark in media advertising, placed through Foote, Cone & Belding's Los Angeles office as well as a Chicago-based agency, Edward H. Weiss & Co., and several other shops.

The Purex Association with FC&B dates back twenty-eight years, a longevity record matched by Hixson & Jorgensen's ties with client Richfield Oil Corp. There are other long-term agency-client relationships here. Erwin Wasey has had Carnation for forty-five years and this client has been the backbone of the agency's Los Angeles office. Another long-term affiliation is the thirty-nine-year relationship between McCann-Erickson's Los Angeles office and U.S. Borax and Chemical Corp. The longevity record of agencies handling top accounts is a characteristic of advertising not only in Los Angeles but in San Francisco as well.

The local agencies still have the lion's share of the area billings, but there is a constant threat from the branches of national agencies. In recent years there have been a number of serious efforts by agencies based out of Los Angeles to get a foothold or strengthen their

(*Continued on page* 80)



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There's No Business Like Business

By NORMAN L. CAHNERS

THE NATION'S business press sits like an iceberg in a sea of changing ideas, science, and technology. Above the surface are a few general publications, such as *Fortune* and *Business Week*, that report the grand maneuvers of American industry—mergers, management philosophy, the development of new marketing and sales concepts, and the realization of technological breakthroughs affecting broad segments of business. Less visible, but with perhaps a broader effect on America's economic life is the business press, some 2,700 publications that reach an estimated 100 million readers at every level and in all kinds of business.

To wage earners and board chairmen alike, the business press is becoming increasingly essential. From day to day, sweeping changes, conceptual as well as technological, take place in business and industry.

Even on the most rudimentary levels the science of management is becoming more subtle and complex. The business press represents a major opportunity for the supervisor, the manager, and the entrepreneur to keep abreast of all that is happening about him—all that his competitors are doing and planning.

That business publishers are aware of their growing responsibility is reflected in the efforts they exert to make their publications more readable, and to enhance the quality as well as quantity of information they transmit. The days when a business editor was thought of as someone who couldn't make the grade on a newspaper or general interest magazine have long since passed. Today the business journalist must not only be top-drawer in terms of editorial skills and talents, but he must also know his field thoroughly.

The effect that business publications can have is suggested by the fact that in some cases these periodicals have themselves been responsible for engendering, or at least defining, new areas of endeavor. Business journalism has, in fact, gone far beyond a simple reporting function. The engineer, the scientist, the salesman, the manager, all depend on trade and industrial publications for interpretation as well as raw information in their particular fields. As a result, the business press has become one of our most important industrial education mediums. And to meet their responsibilities in this context, business publishers have tried increasingly to upgrade the instructional qualities of their product.

With its vast circulation, the business press is coming into its own as an important medium and is recognized as a main line of communications to American business. Almost everyone at the level of foreman and above reads at least one business publication. As a man ascends the managerial ladder, the number of publications he must read to keep abreast of events rises.

Only at the most rarefied levels of the executive establishment does this reading sometimes drop off slightly, being confined to a few key publications, while aides scan the rest for information that will help make them as knowledgeable as the man at the top. It is this general high level of audience that has moved business editors toward more sophisticated and more effective products.

Business publications today must transmit a greater amount of more complex information in less time than ever before. And this must be done in many different ways, and from many different points of view, even within the same industry. A good number of the 151,000 readers of *Gasoline Retailer*, for example, are presumably also subscribers to *Brake and Front End Service*, which reaches a circulation of 30,500. How many of the latter also read *Exhaust*, which has a circulation of 36,000, is not known. On the other hand, it is a safe bet that Detroit automobile executives receive their copies of *Automotive News* every Monday, since that weekly is aimed at informing the upper echelons about the latest happenings in the industry. The garage mechanic and the vice president in charge of production for a large automobile company both look to their business publications to tell them what they need to know about new developments.

Similarly, while *Fur Age Weekly* has only 4,300 subscribers interested in the more technical aspects of the fur business, there is no question that almost everyone involved with the selling and manufacture of furs also religiously reads a publication like *Women's Wear Daily*, which gives a day-by-day account of developments in the over-all field of retailing women's clothing.

WHILE circulation of business publications may run from a few thousand to hundreds of thousands, circulation is not necessarily an index to their importance. There may be only 3,000 executives who can profitably read a given publication, but they in turn may make decisions affecting the lives of millions of workers. Circulation figures are also deceptive because more than one executive may read a particular copy of a publication. In some offices the chief executive himself gets first crack at the company copy, marks those items he considers important, and routes it to the proper staff members. And they read it diligently, because the boss will expect them to have the information at their fingertips in the future.

The level of editorial excellence in business magazines has risen sharply in recent years. Emphasis is placed on good photography and graphic design. Editorial matter is crisper and clearer. Formats are arranged so that ideas flow smoothly off the page and into the reader's consciousness. Many of the publications sum up the essentials of a story in brisk, brief paragraphs and run complex technical supporting material separately or in smaller type, enabling the busy executive to grasp the essentials

From Pretzels to Underwear

The titles below represent a sampling of the vast range of business magazines being published in the United States today. Figures show circulation.

Pretzel Baker (every other month)	4,000
Modern Beauty Shop Magazine (monthly)	140,000
Church Management (monthly)	17,000
Food Engineering (monthly)	42,500
Gift and Tableware Reporter (twice monthly)	14,500
Industrial Maintenance and Plant Operation (monthly)	75,000
Instrument and Apparatus News (monthly)	100,000
Armed Forces Management (monthly)	25,000
The Police Chief (monthly)	6,500
Electric Heating Journal (monthly)	25,500
Welding Design and Fabrication (monthly)	37,000
Nucleonics (monthly)	20,000
Corset and Underwear Review (monthly)	5,300

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of an article without wading through a mass of technical information.

Such methods of increasing the velocity of communications are crucial because today's businessmen have more and more information competing for their attention. If business papers failed to get to the point, the men who rely on them to help shape decisions would find themselves always reading, with little time left for doing. But if the problem is difficult for the top executive, it is doubly acute for operational personnel whose task, to a large extent, is to do what the thinkers think of. For unless supervisory personnel at all levels have some idea of the information that bears on high-level directives, they are unable to carry them out.

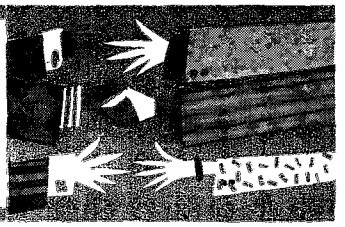
Some companies insist that staff and line employees subscribe to and read the basic business publications in their fields. Many allow or even expect this reading to be done on the job. This is particularly true where new processes and products are constantly being evolved. The engineer who six months ago did a particular thing one way finds today that his methods have been outmoded by a new development announced at a seminar of metallurgists in West Germany. Unless he can attend every such meeting, he must depend on the publications bearing on his field of endeavor to keep him informed.

At the same time that on-the-job reading is increasing, so is that done at home. For many individuals this is a self-protective activity. Stalked by the specter of automation, millions of men are finding their jobs disappearing or drastically changing. They must keep up with the new technology in order to move forward with the tide of change.

Moreover, business publications have risen to the challenge by providing a steady stream of innovations in communications to facilitate such study. In some magazines, for example, the text is accompanied by thin plastic phonograph records that let the reader hear as well as read essential information.

Some business publishers believe that the demands of their readership will require the medium to pull ahead of consumer publications in shaping a more imaginative approach. It is my own feeling that the demands of the coming decade, with its greater pressure on business publications, will put them to a real test of editorial enterprise and ingenuity. The ability of the business press to meet this challenge will have a greater effect on our daily lives than most people realize. We have at our command an almost inconceivable mass of technology and practical information that must be gathered, transmitted, and stored if we are to make full use of our advances.

Public Relations



Ending Another Cold War

At long last, it is beginning to look as if the clamorous hostility between business and government is near its end. For almost thirty years a government voice in favor of industry was rare. And even rarer was the leader in industry favorable to government. He often spoke as if the government in Washington were some alien thing out to destroy the economic system.

There are many signs of a change of attitude on the part of both business and government. No President of the United States in this era has courted business more ardently than President Johnson. Major business leaders have been asking their fellows to try to understand that a continuing war between business and government can bring great harm to the economic progress of the country.

It is interesting to look back on the last national campaign and realize that for the first time since 1932 there were no attacks on business by political leaders. And on the other side there have been speeches by some of the topmost business executives asking other businessmen to try to understand that politicians have their problems and that it is about time that the business community tried to understand them.

This changed attitude is bound to affect public relations practitioners. Many of them have heated their clients' anti-government feelings in response to government actions that they did not like or felt were antagonistic to business. In fact, much of the upsurge of the public relations business came as a result of the growth of governmental regulation of business and the attacks on it in the New Deal days.

For some time however, the wiser public relations men have been advising their employers that the war between government and business was a help to neither and a detriment to the nation as a whole. These public relations men understand that in any direct confrontation, business is bound to lose.

Just how long it will take before the cold war between business and government ends, no one knows, but the opportunity for a rapprochement has never been better. The doors at Washington are wide open to business today and the sooner business walks across the welcome mat the quicker all the needless struggles will end.

It will take a goodly measure of statesmanship on the part of American business to follow some of its leaders who have spoken clearly for better relations with government, but a start has been made.

Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of the board of American Telephone and Telegraph Company, in his book *Business Purpose and Performance*, says, "Let us once and for all get over the habit of going to people in government when we need something, and ignoring them when we have nothing to ask for. Let's never ignore them. And I mean never. Let us rather, as their constituents, invite them on all suitable occasions to tell us what they have been doing. Let us invite them also to see what we have been doing. Let us tell them our plans and take a sincere interest in theirs. Let us by all means increase our understanding of

To Calypso: Five-Week-Old German Shepherd

By Dan Jaffe

CALYPSO sleeps. Momentarily we joke;
Operation Puddle has been cancelled.
Later, we'll stand omniscient,
Waiting for the pause and hover,
The tell-tale crouch. We play god;
But she seems not to understand.
Last night, sometime between her yappings,
I dreamed we all were sniffing,
Aimlessly and innocent. The world
Was scattered with our droppings.
We frisked and chattered, when
Suddenly a Voice said, "No."
A Whirlwind pushed our noses into our mess.

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their problems, as we hope they will gain insight into ours."

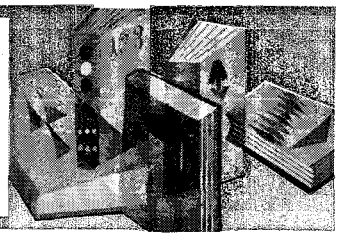
M. J. Rathbone, chairman of the board, of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), speaking before the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce in 1961, said: "In Jersey Standard we have had the occasion many times to oppose governmental policies and deplore what appeared to us as a lack of understanding of our business. Again and again the same issues arise and our store of patience becomes sorely depleted. But in justice we must admit there are usually two sides to every question. Government, too, has its problems; politicians have theirs. What is needed is a real effort of each party to understand the problems of the other. So business and government must make that effort and then, patiently, firmly, and thoughtfully, work out joint solutions. This cooperative approach to solving our nation's problems is, however, no one-way street. Government must cooperate as much as business. Distrust and suspicion, petty political harassment, unwarranted attacks, and the belief that bigness is badness can have no place in our government's share of the cooperative approach."

Lammot du Pont Copeland, president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, speaking before the New York Chamber of Commerce last February, said, "It would be in the national interest, as well as our own interest, to put an end to what at times has seemed like a cold war between government and business. . . . Someone will have to take the initiative. There may be times when we will be rebuffed, and I am sure there will be many times when we are told that our interest in in conflict with the national interest. We should not be discouraged, for I am convinced that there will be many times when these efforts will be richly rewarded."

And one of the most recent such statements was made during the election campaign by Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation. He told two trade associations, in joint meeting in Chicago, that "No one expects the millennium to arrive tomorrow; and until it does, business will certainly continue to have its problems, some of which, to be sure, will result from its own mistakes. But on balance it seems to me that there is a new and developing attitude of cooperation between government and business—a new understanding of each others' problems and a new willingness on both sides to work out realistic solutions that are truly in the long-range public interest."

President Johnson is willing. Messrs. Kappel, Rathbone, Copeland, and Blough say yes. Can others be far behind? —L. L. L. GOLDEN.

Books in Communications



Strategy for a Counterattack

ANY AMERICAN with a good shortwave radio can easily sample for himself some of the Soviet Union's propaganda techniques. Pick a night when reception is good, fiddle with the dial until you find Radio Moscow, and then listen as cultured British and American accents tell you what the Kremlin wants you to believe. Perhaps you'll tune in to a Soviet official's two-hour speech on agriculture, every last droning word of it faithfully retold, or you may get a newscast giving labored emphasis to the achievements of socialism and the failures of democracy, or, if you're particularly lucky, you may hear an unwitting comedy called *Moscow Mailbag*, a program that purports to answer questions from listeners in the U.S. A typical portion is likely to go something like this:

QUESTION: Mrs. A. B. See of Salt Lake City, Utah, writes to ask: "Where is the world's largest fish cannery?"

ANSWER: The world's largest fish cannery is in the Soviet Union. . . .

QUESTION: Mr. X. Y. Zee of New York City asks us: "What country is the largest producer of prickly pears?"

ANSWER: The largest producer of prickly pears is the Soviet Union. . . .

After several minutes of this sort of thing, the U.S. listener finds himself overcome with incredulity. Is this what the Soviet Union is paying its hard-earned rubles for? Is the broadcast intended as genuine propaganda or as some curious parody? For surely it is more comical than persuasive. Yet there is one significant fact about all Radio Moscow's programing, no matter how innocent it may sound: Every last word of it is intended to exalt the Soviet Union and convince the listener that Communism is the most productive, most efficient, and most desirable system. If for no other reason than its scattershot effect, it is bound to hit the target occasionally.

Some such thought must have occurred to Arthur E. Meyerhoff, author of *The Strategy of Persuasion* (Coward-McCann, $4.50), for he is profoundly concerned about the effectiveness of the U.S. propaganda effort when compared with that of the Soviets. Soviet propaganda, he argues, is efficient, persuasive, and is in effect running rings around its naïve and ineffectual U.S. rival. The reason for the one-sidedness of the race, says Meyerhoff, is that Americans, unlike the Soviets, are committed to the idea that the simple truth, favorable or unfavorable, will do the job. He quotes former USIA director Edward R. Murrow as saying that the Voice of America covers "all the news, even when it hurts. . . . To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that."

But, counters Meyerhoff, "It is not that simple. While it is true that believability is vital to persuasiveness, it is a mistake to equate news with truth." The author, who since 1929 has headed his own Chicago advertising agency, contends that the solution lies in applying advertising know-how to the propaganda war. The advertising man, he points out, does not emphasize a product's weaknesses but dwells exclusively on its strengths. The USIA should therefore "get out of the news business completely and leave it to the free press." The heart of Meyerhoff's thesis is this:

> Obviously the Communists do not rely on the merits of Communism to sell their product. They use lies and half-truths with a complete lack of ethics. I am not suggesting that we counter lies with lies, or misrepresent what our way of life can offer to the rest of the world; I suggest rather that we adopt a persuasive program of truth which would—at the very least—offset the Communists' unscrupulous exploitation of the techniques of manipulating men's minds.

The Strategy of Persuasion offers an argument worth considering. Perhaps American propaganda could use some souping up. But Meyerhoff's presentation of the case for more energetic proselytizing is far from the last word. For one thing, his book frequently meanders off into discussions of Soviet propaganda techniques and defenses of American advertising, thereby obscuring its central recommendation: that the USIA should be remolded into a kind of national ad agency to sell America to the world. Had he stuck more closely to that message, he would have had a considerably better chance of touching off a debate on the scale the question deserves. —JAMES F. FIXX.

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Literary Agent

Continued from page 70

10,908 copies. Sold in paperback for $25,500.

Sales not related to book contract: England $1,120, France $600, Germany $1,000, Italy $3,200, Holland $400, plus $300 serial sale.

The Martyred, by Richard Kim (published February 1964).

Declined by publisher No. 1 in four months,

Declined by publisher No. 2 in seventeen business days,

Declined by publisher No. 3 in twenty business days.

Declined by publisher No. 4 in twenty-five business days,

Declined by publisher No. 5 in thirty-one business days,

Declined by publisher No. 6 in fifteen business days.

Accepted by George Braziller in twenty-nine business days.

Terms of contract: Advance $1,000, royalty 10 per cent first 5,000 copies, 12½ per cent next 5,000 copies, 15 per cent thereafter.

Sales: to bookstores and libraries 53,000 copies. Paperback advance $27,000.

Sales not related to book contract: England $1,400, Denmark $350, Holland $750, Finland $400, France $2,000, Germany $3,000, Italy $1,500, Japan $200, Norway $250, Spain $1,000, Sweden $350.

If the authors of the above three novels had not used an agent, they would have in each case sold their manuscripts. What did the agent do for them?

1. In each case the book was sold to a first-class publisher, and probably sold more quickly than it would have been had the author been selling the book directly.
2. The agent obtained a higher advance than the author himself would have. This fact became academic, however, because in each case the books earned much more than the advance.
3. The agent obtained a higher royalty rate than would have been offered to most first authors.
4. The agent retained the English and foreign rights for the author so that the publisher had no interest in the proceeds from the sale of these rights.
5. In the case of *The Great Auk*, the agent, by first selling the book to *Reader's Digest*, prevented the publisher from having 50 per cent of this money. It is almost universal for the publisher to have 50 per cent of *Digest* money.

It must be remembered, however, that these three first novels were of unusual quality and had unusual popular appeal. They were much superior to the average published first novel. It was because the novels were so good that the agent could be of value.

There are pros and cons in the use of an agent for a first novel. One disadvantage of using an agent is that it takes time to find one. An agent must read a manuscript and say yes or no. He may be slow. If an author gets a no from six agents, and if each agent takes a month for his decision, the author has wasted six months. Secondly, if the author gets a reputable agent who is lukewarm about the manuscript, an agent who thinks the manuscript should be offered but is doubtful of success, an agent who plans to send the manuscript around in a routine fashion, the author has achieved little. If a publisher wants the manuscript, the author, because of the agent, will obtain a better contract, but not a great deal better.

If a first novelist can obtain the personal interest and personal services of one of the top five agents, namely Carol Brandt of Brandt and Brandt, Alan Collins of Curtis Brown, Ltd., Harold Matson of Harold Matson Company, Ivan von Auw of Harold Ober Associates, or Willis Wing of Wing Associates, it will be much to the author's advantage. If one of these people is interested, it probably means that the author's first novel has real monetary value. It is extremely difficult, however, to interest these busy and important people. They cannot be reached by telephone and would be irritated if somehow they were. They are too overwhelmed to answer all their mail personally. Without an introduction it is probably impossible to reach them. It is sometimes said that it is harder to get a good agent than it is a publisher. But fortunately an agent is never a necessity.

Communications Letters

Continued from page 66

90 physicians to thirty-three communities. Actually, 113 communities in the United States have constructed our medical center, and ninety of these communities have at least one doctor. I wish to thank *SR* and Mr. Golden for mentioning our Community Medical Assistance Plan.

Norman H. Davis, Director,
Medical Programs,
Sears-Roebuck Foundation.
Chicago, Ill.

May I point out an unfortunate omission in the article entitled "How to Pick a Public Relations Firm," which appeared in your issue of November 14. In suggesting criteria by which the business executive can guard himself against the "sleazy operator," Mr. Golden made no mention whatsoever of protection afforded by the Public Relations Society of America. Not only does the Society have specialized requirements for membership, but its 4,900-odd members must adhere to an exacting Code of Professional Standards, and they are carefully policed by a National Judicial Council. Without wishing to exclude worthy non-members from consideration, I suggest that membership of PRSA gives assurance to the would-be client of competence and respectability.

A. Cyril Daldy,
Sun Oil Company.
Philadelphia, Pa.

More About Words

Mr. Mario Pei's article, "A Loss for Words" [*SR*, Nov. 14], was very interesting. I am one of the many who feel strongly about this general subject. Of course, we all have our personal tolerances and intolerances about particular items. For instance, I don't object to "greats" and "bests" (though I wouldn't use them myself) because they don't have handy equivalents. In the same way, I justify "contact" as a verb, even though I avoid its use because it is simpler than "get in touch with," or "communicate with," or even "speak to." On the other hand, I see red at "Hopefully, the Kremlin is desperate," which is becoming more and more common—even in respectable publications.

What prompts this letter, however, is something else: I think that good writers, and particularly journalists, might do a little incidental missionary work in defense of the language by making the meanings of the words they use more evident. Sometimes the context is no guide at all to the young or the half-educated. For example, it was a long time before I realized that "trite" did not mean "apt, true, trenchant." And I have found that many intelligent adults have the same misunderstanding that I had. Partly, I think, the mistake arises from the sound of the word ("true-right"?) but even more from the fact that a lot of people—especially young ones—don't recognize the quality of triteness. So when somebody says that "It never rains but it pours" is trite, the whole point is missed. However, if the comment had been made that the adage was "tiresomely trite," a clue would have been supplied.

You speak of "disinterested" and its mis-

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use. I think that this may have gone too far now to ever catch up with it. But if writers would take the trouble to elaborate somewhat when they use the word, it might help a little. They might say, for instance, "Mr. Brown's role in the affair was wholly unselfish and disinterested." Even if this is slightly tautological, it would be unobjectionable, I should think.

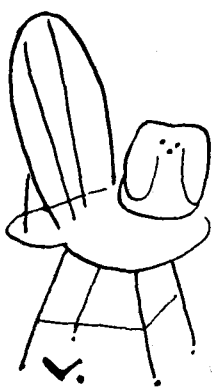
Obviously a writer has a hard enough time as it is, without undertaking the education of his readers, but when he uses words or expressions that he *knows* are often misused, it might not be too great a burden to do a little something about it.

E. D. WILLIAMS.

New York, N.Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following letter was written to William C. Doster, Miami-Dade Junior College, Miami, Florida, by Mario Pei. (Mr. Doster's letter was published in the December 12 issue).*

I DON'T at all mind being disagreed with, but I do mind being misquoted and misrepresented. Where do I "imply" that there is in English usage a truth similar to that



of mathematics? All I did in my article was to present the arguments on both sides of the question, fully agreeing with neither. As for language change, anyone at all familiar with my writings knows that I am the first to recognize it. Quoting from only one of my books, *Language For Everybody:*

"Language is subject to change. This principle applies at all times and in all places, though to varying degrees. The only language that remains completely inert is a wholly dead and forgotten language. Change appears in all segments of a language—its sounds, its words, its grammatical forms, its scheme of meanings. For what concerns sounds, there is a tendency for the changes to occur with a measure of regularity and to become universal under given conditions. The speed of change may vary."

Lastly, where do I imply that a past period of the language is superior to the present phase? Each historical phase of language has its own justification in reality, and none is intrinsically superior or inferior. My conclusions, which are moderate enough, concern to some slight degree the direction we may give to the future course of language change; but primarily they regard the function of a dictionary.

If you are capable, may I suggest that you reread my article?

MARIO PEI.

Glen Ridge, N.J.

Government

Continued from page 27

to irrigation. Under the reclamation program the prices charged for irrigation water are heavily subsidized. The $5.7 billion cost bears no interest, and of this $5.7 billion only $3 billion will be repaid by irrigation water users. For projects that Congress is likely to be considering next year, the typical investment costs for irrigation will range between $500 and $1,500 an acre, most of which will not be recovered in the price of irrigated water.

Reclamation law was designed primarily to help develop the West by irrigating arid lands. The program was initiated at a time when the nation sought to encourage family farm settlement on public lands in the West. Over one-fourth of the irrigated lands in the West was developed under this program, and about 5 per cent of total U.S. agricultural production takes place on reclamation irrigated land.

Two major and closely related kinds of economic change have occurred during recent decades to raise the problem of how best to adapt the reclamation program to new needs. The first, and most obvious, is the problem of surplus agricultural production. Our farm commodity programs, through acreage controls, marketing quotas, and diversion payments, seek to limit agricultural production. But subsidized irrigation tends to increase production. In most cases, but not all, the crops irrigated are not the same crops as those subject to production limitations. But through the complex chain of market and producer substitution, increased production of one crop tends to aggravate the surplus situation of other crops.

These facts do not imply that irrigation investment *is per se* undesirable. Though we are limiting total agricultural production, there is still room for a shift, within the total, from less efficient to more efficient areas of production. Nevertheless, it is clear that irrigation policy must be based upon an integrated approach that looks at the most desirable locational pattern of agricultural production.

A second major set of economic changes arises out of the growing need for water for municipal and industrial uses. The urbanization and industrialization of America—in the new West as well as in the older Eastern Seaboard and Middle West—has dramatically increased the demand for urban water.

In many parts of the nation—particularly the Southwest—water has become an increasingly scarce resource. Now, if there is any one principle of economics that economists of every persuasion would accept, it is that the price system is an exceptionally useful mechanism both for conserving a scarce resource and for allocating it to uses with the greatest value. But we rely too little on this mechanism in considering the water problems of the nation. Additional agricultural surpluses have little value. Yet irrigation water for agricultural purposes is priced far below cost. Added water for municipal and industrial uses makes a major contribution to the burgeoning urban economies of the West. But projects designed to add to municipal and industrial water often receive less attention and, unlike those for irrigation water, are priced to recover full costs. The city of Los Angeles currently pays $20 per acre-foot for water from Boulder Dam and will soon be paying $63 an acre-foot for water brought down from Northern California. Many Southern California irrigators pay $2.25 per acre-foot for water from Boulder Dam, and for new federal irrigation water will be paying perhaps $10 per acre-foot.

The need is clear, I believe, to think through the implications of a rapidly changing economy for the composition and structure of our water resources program. The solutions will not be easy. We cannot and should not ignore the plight of the commercial farmer whose livelihood depends upon irrigated water and whose water table is falling year by year. We have an obligation to those agricultural communities whose heavy investment in the land was based upon continued availability of water supplies. Nevertheless, having said this, I believe we must take steps gradually to adapt this program, designed to meet the problems of agricultural settlement, to the needs of the rapidly growing urban communities of our nation.

The pursuit of the goals of the Great Society requires that we give equal attention to the need for innovation and the need for reform. The Great Society must be an efficient society. The responsibility of the federal government to heed the new needs of an evolving society is no greater than our responsibility to assure that the old programs are using the right number of dollars.

The task of modernizing the federal budget will not be accomplished in one year or four. It is a continuing struggle, for the barriers are formidable and the pitfalls many. But it is an effort that should command the support and assistance of all who choose economy over both parsimony and profligacy.

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Continued from page 32

than 100 per cent but would cover *all* state and local taxes. This would leave it up to each state and local government to determine the most equitable taxation method to be employed in meeting the massive increases in state and local expenditures, but at the same time would make it possible for a designated portion of such tax increases to be borne indirectly by the federal government. This would make tax-raising more politically feasible at the state and local levels. It would also meet the argument of local governments that they should not have to depend on the state for a distribution of federal aid. It is also one of the most politically feasible of all the approaches from the standpoint of the Congressman or Senator because it combines a federal tax reduction with automatic help to state and local governments.

This approach, however, is open to the objection that it would be regressive in nature and would not benefit the people who pay state and local taxes—particularly sales taxes—but whose incomes are not sufficiently high to place them in a federal tax bracket. This argument could be partially met by having the credit apply in a decreasing scale as one moves up in the tax brackets.

A fifth alternative would be to "rebate" a percentage of federal income taxes to the state of collection. This has been proposed at various times in Congress. It would be a "tax-sharing" rather than a tax credit arrangement. It would be simple to administer and would leave state and local governments free to chart their future policies on taxes and expenditures. However, it is objected to on the ground that existing fiscal disparities among the states could not be recognized in the rebate arrangement. New York and California, for example, being relatively high-income states with many citizens paying taxes in the higher federal brackets, would get back a much larger per capita share than would low-income states.

I HAVE attempted to describe briefly the present federal-state fiscal situation, the major trends, and some alternate proposals for improving the balance in the fiscal relationships between our various levels of government. Up to this point, I have tried to be completely objective in stating the problem and in presenting the arguments for and against the various solutions that have been suggested.

At this point I would like to give you my own views on the most desirable path to be pursued.

Unlike some, I do not view the federal tax system as ideal, either from the standpoint of equity or from the standpoint of maximum encouragement to economic growth. The corporate income tax rate is still at a high level. I am confident that further reductions in the corporate income tax would, for the most part, find their way into new investment in plant and equipment. Investment in new plant by private enterprise is an ideal stimulant to growth.

Next, I should explain the absence from the list of the five foregoing alternatives of a proposal that has been viewed fondly by many governors over the years—that of exchanging some federal tax sources for some existing federal grants-in-aid. While I would like to see something of this sort accomplished, I and all of my fellow governors know that it is neither equitable nor feasible. It was tried a few years ago during the Eisenhower Administration when it was proposed that the federal telephone tax be repealed and this tax source turned over to the states, while at the same time a group of grants-in-aid equal to the amount of federal telephone tax be discontinued—leaving it to the states to pick up the responsibility for the functions formerly aided.

This plan collapsed when it became apparent that the transfer of the tax source would aid the wealthy states most and the poor states least, while the cessation of the grants would hurt the wealthy states least and the poor states most. Governors and Congressmen alike lost little time in turning their backs on that one.

I think that, whatever steps are taken to provide increased federal aid to the states, the implication should not be left that the state and local governments can relax and stop trying to improve their respective revenue systems. The states are not trying to duck their responsibility; they recognize that much remains to be accomplished in strengthening the structure of state government and improving their tax systems, particularly with regard to the local property tax.

Now, let's get to the heart of the matter. Which of the five possibilities would be best for the states and best for the nation, and what are the political feasibilities?

It is always an easy answer to say that the best government is that which is closest to the people. It is also easy to say, and it always sounds good, that federal bureaucracy will be our downfall and that our strength lies in a strong free enterprise system.

These statements may be true, but what virtue they have lies in their generality.

It seems to me we must rely on a combination of programs in the fiscal fields —active in strengthening the state and local governments, yet utilizing, when needed, the combined strength of financial resources of the entire nation.

If we reach the point of federal tax surplus, we should not only consider tax reductions, but also apply some of the surplus to debt reduction.

I favor a "rebate" or "tax-sharing" program, the objections notwithstanding. It seems to me that such a tax-sharing program could be effective in strengthening the state governments and thwarting the ever-increasing trend toward centralized control. Such "tax-sharing" should not preclude continued use of grant-in-aid programs. While I favor tax sharing over grant-in-aid programs, because of the extensive controls attached to some of the latter, I think it extremely likely that the federal government will favor a block grant plan so as to give states with "lower gross state products" relatively larger amounts of money, probably in combination with tax cuts and added grant programs.

There should be few strings attached except the requirement for a well-developed state spending plan. Performance should be measured, perhaps annually.

EVERY state will have to put more energy, talent, and money into planning, because the federal money will likely go to education, environment control, perhaps urban and rural renewal. These will be fields of endeavor for both state and local governments. They will therefore require exceptional planning activities.

A federal tax return program might be a major catalyst. Long overdue, it is needed to initiate regional thinking and action on public problems. Despite the practical difficulties in arranging useful cooperation among present groups across political boundaries, regional solutions are clearly mandatory, with the likelihood that political obstacles will be readily overcome when sizable rebate funds are the incentive.

The Midwestern Governors' Association is currently working toward effective regional cooperation in the fields of equalization in federal defense spending, in research and development, and in the interstate cooperation for utilization of graduate and professional school facilities in the colleges and universities by means of reciprocal contracts. Mental health programs and penal programs are also being explored for regional cooperative effects.

These trends point in one direction—the need for more management-trained and professional staff people in state and local government. Finding these people, integrating them into state governments, and paying for their services will be a major problem, and state governments must then compete with private industry, universities, federal government, and other institutions for the same people. The market will remain tight for

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another seven to ten years, because of the population-age distribution. States may want to consider contracting out some of their problems to skilled groups throughout the country.

Perhaps the federal government can be prevailed upon to distribute back to the states some of the talented people it now employs, along with money. This might have a considerable beneficial effect on the "brain drain" that is now such a major issue among many states. It could also mean that states like Kansas might celebrate the return of expatriates who have left Kansas to work in the federal establishment because of the lack of challenging, adequately reimbursed opportunities at home.

All these points are supported by the increasing regard and responsibility with which the voting public views government solutions to public problems. More professionals in state government should further enhance in the public mind the stature and status of government employment.

There is, of course, no easy solution, no pat formula. I hope my remarks may be interpreted as being related to a great opportunity to realize the federalist idea of solving the local problems at the local level, and utilizing the combined resources of all the people in solving the interstate problems for the common good.

The battle lines are drawn. This book "sharply reveals much of the sense and nonsense in this windy debate."*

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Economic Plan

Continued from page 36

informed and well administered—if it is alert to developing imbalances—it can probe emerging situations with modest actions, withdrawing or increasing its pressures as its estimates of what is happening and of what the months ahead may bring appear to be correct or at fault.

There is one conflict in the area of monetary policy that currently has a special significance for the United States. That is the conflict presented by a domestic economy that is still somewhat short of maximum use of its economic resources, in which hard evidence of inflationary pressures is largely lacking, and which has had a deficit in its international balance of payments for the past fifteen years (with the exception of the Suez year 1957) and a big and disturbing deficit for the past seven years. In classic terms, this shouldn't happen. If a country's balance of payments is substantially and persistently in deficit, the domestic economy is supposed to be at full stretch, domestic inflationary pressures are supposed to be strong, and imports are supposed to be on the rise compared with exports. The appropriate remedy for one situation is then accepted as the appropriate remedy for the other. But in our present state it is argued that monetary action to bring about a restoration of balance in our international accounts would not be consistent with important domestic economic objectives and international political objectives. The temptation is to push the balance of payments under the rug and hope that time will cure the problem. But time is running out.

It may be that our balance of payments, benefited by the things we have done to reduce the deficit, will right itself by 1968 or some other convenient year, but I hesitate to rely on this solution. It is not good enough, it seems to me, for a country which is the largest and strongest economic unit in the world, and whose currency is, along with gold, the main anchor of the international monetary system. It is a solution that relies too heavily on further increases in our trade balance, which, while it has fluctuated widely, has been and is in substantial surplus. We shall need all of the inventiveness of which we are capable in order to maintain trade surpluses of the magnitude we have enjoyed during the past seven years of serious over-all payments deficit.

Assuming as I do that the remedy of dollar devaluation is worse than the disease, that much additional reduction in government expenditure abroad is not to be expected, and that advance loan repayments by foreign governments and advance payments for military exports are a declining factor, I think that if we are going to be doing more than we are now doing to right our balance of payments it comes down to a question of making further use of general monetary (and debt management) measures, or of direct controls to discourage the outflow of capital on private account.

The preliminary figures for the first nine months of 1964 showed that the deficit in the balance of payments on regular transactions (the most comprehensive measure in a maze of balance-of-payment concepts) had climbed back to $1.5 billion; and the best forecast for the year as a whole of which I am aware is a deficit (on regular transactions) of around $2 billion. Yet so effective are the defenses we have erected against speculative attacks on the dollar, against self-reversing short-term movements of funds, and against gold losses, that public interest in the balance of payments has almost disappeared. The continuing deficit has been financed by increases in already large foreign holdings of marketable liquid dollar assets, by sales of non-marketable medium-term convertible treasury securities to official foreign holders, and by drawings on the International Monetary Fund. The public impact of these is almost nil compared with the impact of losses of gold, and the political pressures that they create for corrective action are comparatively small.

I SUGGEST that it is time to move more firmly against our payments deficit and that it requires a decision about whether we are going to use general monetary policy or whether we are going to expand and tighten our direct control of private capital exports. My own preference would be to use monetary measures. That would be consistent with our general economic policy of avoidance of direct controls and promotion of the greatest possible freedom of international movement of goods, services, and capital. It would be consistent with a recognition of the essential role of international capital flows in the mechanism of international economic adjustment. In expressing this preference, I am not unmindful of our domestic economic situation, and I am not advocating "tight money" or even such high interest rates as might stop our economic growth, interfere with reduction of unemployment, or induce price deflation. I agree that this would be contrary to our interest and would exceed our political tolerances, and furthermore I am sure it isn't going to happen.

There are those who say, of course, that general monetary policy cannot be effective in our present state, or that it

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could be effective only if it brought about such a contraction of loanable funds and such an increase in interest rates as I have ruled out in deference to our domestic situation. They reject the idea, which I think has been proven so far as the United States is concerned, that in present international and domestic money and capital markets small changes in the availability of credit can be effective without being destructive. They would try to avoid the choice, which they pose, by substituting direct or selective controls for general monetary policy. They point to the "apparent" success of the Interest Equalization Tax in checking portfolio investment abroad during its long period of incubation, and suggest the possible further use of similar techniques for discouraging other forms of capital outflow. This is a view that is embraced all too easily in the mistaken idea that we have the ability to pinpoint the exact spots of pressure and to deal with them effectively without the support of a general policy that induces the market to find its own pressure points and that limits the scope for avoidance of selective devices. As the ingenious operators in actual markets find their way under and around selective controls lacking general policy support, the temporary is apt to achieve an undesirable degree of permanence and additional selective controls have to be invoked. It is significant, I think, that the reduction in new foreign security issues in our market during the first nine months of 1964 was largely offset by an increase in both long-term and short-term borrowings by foreigners from banks in this country.

And, in passing, let me say that while I cannot presume to judge the steps that the British authorities have taken to correct a balance-of-payments situation that is more critical than ours, and while awareness of the need for a degree of international cooperation in these matters counsels avoidance of unnecessary actions that might hurt the British position, there is a broader question to be raised. Is it not likely that an increasing resort to selective controls, whatever their labels—interest equalization taxes, surcharges on imports, so-called voluntary export restrictions, quota arrangements whether as a means of avoiding domestic agricultural problems or as a part of commodity stabilization agreements, etc.—will falsify our hopes of expanding world trade in a setting of maximum freedom of movement of goods, services, and capital?

I retain, then, my preference for the use of the generalized corrective of monetary action, which can exert its influence in a variety of ways on both short-term and long-term capital outflows and on all sorts of lenders and investors, and which can be varied by administrative action to meet changing conditions. Trying to extract sub-segments of the balance of payments from the whole, so that they can be dealt with separately, is somewhat like punching a pillow; you don't know what bulges will replace the dents you make. And there is always the danger that "temporary" direct controls will be extended indefinitely because it is easier to hang on than to let go.

Now I would like to consider briefly the matters of fiscal policy and wage-price policy. So far as management of the publicly held federal debt is concerned, if an active discretionary monetary policy must involve itself with the whole structure of interest rates and the general liquidity of the economy, as I think it must, then monetary policy and debt management interact throughout the range of their influence. They must operate in harmony and, in terms of administrative arrangements, that means close cooperation between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

There have been some suggestions that, if so much cooperation is required, the parties ought to be married, but a native caution about wedding the principal borrower in the nation and the institution that manages the nation's money has helped to prevent this consummation. My own view is that we have achieved a working solution of the coordination of monetary policy and debt management since the "Accord" between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve in 1951. We have had a demonstration of how well such an arrangement can work and I see no reason to change it to satisfy the inclinations of those who like neat organization charts.

My approach to the "new look" in fiscal policy has also been from the side of monetary policy and was spurred by our balance-of-payments difficulties. The restraint placed on monetary action to combat a deficit in the balance of payments by the fact that the domestic economy was operating below capacity directed attention to the possibility of transferring to fiscal policy some of the burden of stimulating domestic economic growth and fostering domestic capital investment, thus giving monetary policy greater freedom with respect to the balance of payments. A basic ingredient of this change in policy "mix" was the enactment by Congress of a reduction in the corporate and individual income tax to stimulate consumer spending and corporate investment. I think it is now generally agreed that this planned budgetary deficit, leading to increased private spending rather than increased government spending, and designed to reduce fiscal drag on economic growth, was appropriate.

The other basic ingredient of such a change in the fiscal-monetary "mix" was not a single definitive action but a series of actions aimed at adapting monetary policy to improving economic conditions at home and to the changing circumstances of the balance of payments. The first action was the increase in the discount rate of the Federal Reserve Banks in July 1963, and the accompanying raising of the ceiling of permitted rates paid on time deposits at commercial banks. Subsequently, there has been some moderation in the reserve position of the banking system, and this, combined with a complementary policy of debt management that pressed Treasury Bills on the market, has kept short-term money rates in this country in better alignment with rates in foreign money centers than would otherwise have been the case. One inducement for an outflow of capital was thus tempered. Whether or not more could have been done in recent months is a matter of judgment, balancing the strength of the upward movement in the domestic economy, with possible inflationary overtones, against the upward movement in the deficit in the balance of payments since the first quarter of the current year. One thing seems to me to be certain, however. It is essential to the success of an approach to the problem of righting our balance of payments by changing the "mix" of monetary and fiscal policy—while avoiding interference with economic growth at home—that monetary policy not be frozen until we can see the white of the inflationary eye or until the balance of payments takes another turn for the worse. The rationale of the change in "mix" was and is that while monetary and fiscal policy might seem to be moving in opposite directions, they would actually be moving together toward economic balance at home and abroad.

THE problem to which we should now address ourselves is the more difficult one of introducing a degree of flexibility into fiscal policy, so that if the need arises to stimulate economic expansion further, timely fiscal action will be possible. The tax cut of 1964, although it was a senior ingredient of the new "mix" this year, was really a change in the basic structure of the progressive income tax. There is more to be done if the tax system is to be equitable as well as conducive to long-run economic growth. But to build upon the start that has been made in using fiscal and monetary policies to combat cyclical fluctuations, and imbalance in our international position, we still have to find the way to discretionary tax action that will contribute to short-run economic adjustments. The history of the 1964 tax cut demonstrates the difficulties of combining basic fiscal change and flexible fiscal policy. The Commission on Money and

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Credit pointed the way to consideration of this problem when it said: "Discretionary fiscal policy requires speed of decision and effect and can be successful only if temporary and reversible fiscal changes for stabilization purposes are dissociated from permanent and structural changes."

Now, as for the third leg of my imaginary milking stool, wage-price policy, the news is not good. There has been a lot of discussion, and some increase in understanding of the problem, but not much progress that you can put your finger on. We and other countries have got into a situation where wages and prices are sticky on the down side, and where talk of wage-price policy quickly becomes talk of an income policy, which includes not only wages and prices but also profits and incomes other than wages. We have shied away from the thorny thicket of policy for nonwage incomes, and the Administration's productivity guidelines for wage-price policy are being honored in the breach as operating rates in industry approach capacity, as productivity gains tend to slacken, and as production costs tend to advance. Business has been less than enthusiastic about government guidelines, particularly with respect to prices. Organized labor has rejected the guidelines in principle. The building trades unions and the service trades apparently never heard of them. Under the Railway Labor Act the idea of wages geared to productivity is lost in an endless round of negotiation through government boards that have superseded real collective bargaining of management and labor. The automobile unions have only masked their rejection of the wage-price guidelines by demanding and obtaining a wage and benefit settlement so complicated that the fracturing of the goalposts is difficult to put in figures. The Administration's hoping that other unions will recognize the unique conditions created by increased productivity and the high level of aggregate profits in the automobile industry is a case of whistling while going past the cemetery. The Council of Economic Advisers took a less wishful look last January when it said the guideposts would call for price reductions in those industries whose trend of productivity gains exceeds the national trend and that extra increases in wages or fringe benefits in such industries might tend to spread to other industries, creating a general cost push from the wage side. This warning is still valid, but the warning system which the Administration was to set up to call public attention to major private decisions—by either business or labor—that seriously overstep noninflationary price-wage standards has been muted with respect to price reductions and wage and benefit increases. There is a danger here both to our domestic economy and to our international position. The closer our approach to maximum use of our productive capacity, the greater the danger of costs and prices chasing one another up the ladder of cost inflation. As of now, I think it is fair to say that monetary policy and fiscal policy are going to have to hold the line without much help from a wage-price policy or an incomes policy.

In fact, the difficulties of formulating wage-price or incomes policies and putting them to work, if we are to continue to enjoy our freedom from excessive government regulation, suggests that our approach to this aspect of economic balance may have taken a wrong turn; that the solution lies not in a government wage-price policy as such. It is much more likely to be found in a reassessment of the competitive forces in our economy that have outgrown concepts of weak and fragmented labor power and isolated regional capital markets, a reassessment that would make it possible for the market place to make more effective decisions in the field of costs and prices, and that would not periodically call upon fiscal and monetary policies to validate situations created by cost push. Government should quit exhorting business and labor not to do what comes naturally, and should make it more natural for them to do what is economically desirable.

NOW for a final word about the instrument for the direction of monetary policy that Congress created fifty years ago—the Federal Reserve System. The system is under attack, but that is a more or less chronic condition of central banks in the United States. It will be in danger only if, somehow, Congress can be hoodwinked into believing that the Federal Reserve System has exercised an independence that enables it to act contrary to the general economic policies of the government.

The system has not asserted such independence. Its independence is the independence of an agency established by Congress that seeks to determine, on the basis of economic analysis divorced as far as possible from political and private pressures, the course that monetary policy should pursue in furtherance of the general economic policies of the government; that presses its views with vigor within the councils of the government; and that conforms its practices to the decisions of the government as expressed in the general tenor of legislation enacted by the Congress. I am confident that Congress will, as it has on previous occasions during the past fifty years, confirm this kind of independence of the Federal Reserve System, which is all it has ever had.

Madison Avenue

Continued from page 71

offices through merger or acquisition. Most of the big nationals moved into the Los Angeles market in the postwar period. While competition has stiffened for the advertiser's dollar, the invasion by outside agencies has nonetheless had a positive effect on the Los Angeles ad community. The transfer of personnel, especially administrative and creative talent, from Eastern and Midwestern branches has helped raise advertising standards and has made Wilshire Boulevard a more sophisticated advertising center.

The jet age has forged a new link connecting Madison Avenue, Michigan Avenue, and Los Angeles. "The advent of the jet," says Leslie C. Bruce, Jr., Purex vice president of advertising and marketing research, "has brought communication and transportation close to hand. Our people are in New York far more frequently these days."

Exposure of West Coast admen to the elite advertising organizations, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Association of National Advertisers, has given the Los Angeles community a shot in the arm. The 4A's Council in Los Angeles recently established an Institute of Advanced Advertising Training, a personnel development course for young executives patterned after the successful school initiated by the 4A's in Chicago in 1963.

Because of the lack of big-billing accounts, there is less national exposure of the advertising campaigns created by Western agencies. Bosses of local agencies believe that the creative output here is as good as that of any other advertising center. Historically, Western advertising has been characterized as off-beat and on the flamboyant side. "In the past it always was the feeling that the real brains, creative and otherwise, were in the East," said Kai Jorgensen, who founded his agency thirty years ago. "I don't think that's true any more. In my opinion, there's no appreciable difference in creative work in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles."

Jorgensen and other Angelenos, however, are aware of the difference in advertising billings of the three advertising centers. In terms of today's $14 billion-a-year advertising business, Los Angeles is still a neophyte advertising center—far outranked by New York and Chicago.

—GEORGE LAZARUS.

LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

Column Two should read: 13, 15, 5, 12, 14, 11, 3, 6, 8, 4, 2, 9, 1, 10, 7.

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(Continued on page 82)

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PERSONALS

(Continued from page 81)

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KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 1605

Reg. U.S. Patent Office

By Doris Nash Wortman

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Sways; twists (dialect U.S.).	148 54 38 68 166 70 187
B. Another nickname for the Enzedder.	64 200 189 31
C. Cross between a small donkey used as pack animal and a zebra.	130 3 208 61 192 118 108
D. Having (others) on either side, occupying an intervening space (2 wds.).	170 96 182 50 1 154 9 69 40
E. Tidings we had not heard till now (3 wds.).	58 65 37 17 107 123 30 177
F. What F.P.A. called a mosquito song, "soft" and "in the night".	20 169 163 15 125 128 75 167
G. Contests, usually vigorous and brief (comp.).	25 161 46 56 14 180
H. Lineage or exodontia.	44 48 140 109 145 13 194 27 151 72
I. Feebly pretentious.	76 11 77 22 184 88
J. Make more close in any sense.	157 129 204 2 117 190 152
K. Wearing the robes of an ecclesiastical order.	122 57 34 52 114 210 92
L. Figures of the classic love god.	39 105 139 153 90 86
M. Parti-colored.	126 173 5 89 142 60 206 24 146
N. Lovers' quarrels (classic 2 wds.).	111 53 155 132 73 19 93 199 106 85 185 18

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
O. Covered with a hard coat.	175 28 63 205 81 133 158 138 150
P. Basis of Poe's *Bells'* "keeping time, time, time" (2 wds.).	66 162 112 198 82 51 137 110 10 183
Q. Habitual eating of earthy substances, esp. clay.	121 41 87 33 195 171 78 49 144 191 176
R. Lacking certain indelible, but artificial, marks on the body.	179 79 202 71 36 197 74 98 119 59 67
S. Leaders, to a printer (3 wds.)	143 131 101 6 12 147 115 83 45
T. London borough where one finds Waterloo Station, Vauxhall, etc.	8 91 207 160 164 181 141
U. Popular and fashionable pet (2 wds.).	174 84 159 201 209 172 165 42 29
V. Exists in profusion.	62 7 127 124 99 80 116
W. Suspended; remaining undetermined.	4 193 55 23 100 43 102
X. Famous and honorable English family for the last four hundred years, earldom and dukedom of Bridgewater, etc.	35 168 47 104 26 196 156
Y. Articulated (something) once more.	16 188 178 203 95 135 120 103 113
Z. Most thickset and bulky; most vigorous and resistant.	94 136 134 186 21 149 32 97

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd WORDS, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. Alongside each definition, there is a row of dashes—one for each letter in the required word. When you have guessed a word, write it on the dashes, and also write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram . . . When the squares are all filled in, you will find that you have completed a quotation from some published work. If read up and down, the letters in the diagram have no meaning . . . Black squares indicate ends of words; if there is no black square at the right side of the diagram, the word carries over to the next line . . . When all the WORDS are filled in, their initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Of great help to the solver are this acrostic feature and the relative shapes of words in the diagram as they develop. Authority for spellings and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary, Second and Third Editions.

						1 D	2 J	3 C		4 W	5 M	6 S	7 V	8 T	9 D	10 P	
11 I	12 S		13 H	14 G	15 F	16 Y	17 E	18 N		19 N	20 F		21 Z	22 I		23 W	24 M
25 G	26 X	27 H	28 O	29 U	30 E	31 B	32 Z	33 Q		34 K	35 X	36 R	37 E	38 A	39 L	40 D	
41 Q	42 U	43 W	44 H	45 S	46 G		47 X	48 H	49 Q	50 D	51 P	52 K	53 N	54 A	55 W	56 G	
57 K	58 E	59 R		60 M	61 C	62 V	63 O	64 B	65 E	66 P	67 Q		68 A	69 D		70 A	71 R
72 H	73 N		74 R	75 F	76 I		77 I	78 Q	79 R	80 V	81 O	82 P	83 S	84 U	85 N	86 L	
87 Q	88 I		89 M	90 L	91 T	92 K		93 N	94 Z		95 Y	96 D	97 Z	98 R		99 V	100 W
101 S		102 W	103 Y	104 X	105 L	106 N	107 E	108 C	109 H	110 P		111 N	112 P	113 Y		114 K	115 S
	116 V	117 J	118 C	119 R	120 Y	121 Q	122 K		123 E	124 V	125 F		126 M	127 V	128 F	129 J	130 C
131 S	132 N	133 O		134 Z	135 Y		136 Z	137 P	138 O		139 L	140 H	141 T	142 M	143 S		144 Q
145 H	146 M	147 S		148 A	149 Z		150 O	151 H	152 J	153 L		154 D	155 N	156 X	157 J		158 O
159 U		160 T	161 G		162 P	163 F	164 T	165 U		166 A	167 F		168 X	169 F	170 D	171 Q	172 U
173 M		174 U	175 O	176 Q	177 E		178 Y	179 R	180 G	181 T		182 D	183 P	184 I	185 N	186 Z	187 A
188 Y		189 B	190 J		191 Q	192 C	193 W		194 H	195 Q	196 X		197 R	198 P	199 N	200 B	201 U
	202 R	203 Y		204 J	205 O	206 M	207 T	208 C	209 U	210 K							

Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 14 of this issue.

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